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THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. V.]

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

[NO. 38.]

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.]

[SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1835.]

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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

TERMS.

Two dollars per annum, always payable IN ADVANCE.
All letters and communications must be post paid.
The rules are, in order to shield us from the importations of our enemies.—Those, therefore, who wish their letters to be taken from the Post Office by us, will be careful to pay their postage.
An advertisement making one square, or a space of equal length and breadth, will be inserted one month for \$1. One less than a square 75 cts.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

[From the Richmond Enquirer.]

A CALM APPEAL FROM THE SOUTH TO THE NORTH.

This picture of the consequences of disunion, cannot be too highly colored, or too often exhibited. Every man who loves peace, every man who loves his country, every man who loves liberty, ought to have before his eyes, that he may cherish in his heart a due attachment to the Union of America, and be able to set a due value on the means of preserving it.—*Madison.*

The South has as deep an interest in the Union as the North. Certainly no State is more attached to it than Virginia: because the Potomac may be the dividing line, and she will become the border State. Her rivers would bristle with entrenchments, and her fields be turned into battle grounds. With these feelings she, and with her all the Patriots of the South, would commune, at the present crisis, in the kindest spirit with her brethren of the North.

The only rock on which the Union may probably split, is the very one which now solicits our attention. Nothing has created such marked interest in different sections of the country—nothing is so well calculated to arouse the sensibility of the South, as an interference with her domestic institutions. It is not a mere question of property, which may ultimately be at stake—but it may be her safety; the very lives of her wives and her children. And yet it is this very topic which the fanatics of the North, the hypocrites who aspire to the character of saints and philanthropists are most apt to meddle with. It is the nerve, in which are most felt, and which they are most disposed to pierce. The weak among them are seduced to enter in its outrageous agitation by sympathy, and others are invited by the vilest passions; one man, by the love of distinction, another by the want of head. Fanaticism seizes to convulse society, and raise up a crusade against the South. Tappan contributes his money, to acquire notoriety. May seize the opportunity of displaying himself in a public assembly. And more shameful still, a foreign emissary is sent to plant his foot in New-England, to disturb the peace of the South. The pulpit, the press, and popular meetings, are all employed to promote their notorious agitations. Papers are printed to distribute them—sometimes a lurking emissary seeks into the South, to administer their poison.

Perhaps not one citizen of the North, out of 10,000 has seen these incendiary publications, nor is aware of the danger which they are calculated to produce in the South. But she knows the peril, and she feels the mischief. She is, indeed, prepared to do all in her power to keep off the emissaries, and to arrest their publications. But it is scarcely practicable for her to shut up every possible avenue of communication. Some poisonous missile may yet pass her barrier, with all the precaution she may employ—with all the fiery vengeance she is prepared to wreak upon the head of the intruding incendiary.

We have no words adequate to express the resentment which the South feels towards these fanatics. The outrage is intolerable; and it is without excuse. To these incendiaries plead that they are Americans, and that they have a common interest in the character of the whole Union? The pretext is frivolous. When the North entered into the present Union with the Southern States, it was agreed, that as members of the confederacy, they would have nothing to do with the ownership in the slaves, or to their emancipation. They guaranteed to us, indeed, a representation founded in a certain proportion of this species of population. They also bound themselves to deliver up our fugitive slaves—but beyond these two provisions the constitution is perfectly silent. It is no American question. It concerns only the South and South-West. It is an interference with our domestic institutions from which they are politically declared by the very theory of the constitution. If there be any thing wrong or dishonorable in the retention of slaves, it is confined to ourselves. As citizens of the United States they have nothing to say to it. They have no political right, clearly—and it is certain they have no moral right. It is an evil which they do not understand. The remedy is left to our own discretion. It is best understood by our Southern brethren. They are not only impertinent, but pernicious intruders. They not only bring national questions into the South, but they suggest the very evils which they profess to remedy. They strengthen the cord of slavery itself. They compel us to treat them with a severity, which is as painful to the slave as it is to the owner. A regard for our own security must impose upon them additional restrictions—and in case these vile miscreants should ever succeed in raising rebellion among them, they alone will be held responsible, in the eyes of God and man, for the blood which will flow. It is thus that they are doing serious mischief both to the whites and the blacks—aggravating the very evil which they profess to palliate. Every sane man in the northern States surely requires no argument to convince him, that the project of abolition and intermixture with the whites is too revolting to all our sensibilities, and too pernicious to the very safety of the South, to be entertained, for a single moment.

What then do those madmen desire? To create a spirit of dissatisfaction among the slaves? To shed our blood? and to cause torrents of tears to flow in the South?

The South, therefore, appeals in the most respectful spirit to the North. Will you permit these vile fanatics to go on in their audacious career?—Will you suffer your soil to be used for the purpose of planting the lever to agitate ours? We call upon you to interpose. As citizens of the same Republic; as bound to carry out in good faith the theory of the compact which binds us together, we beseech you to put down these incendiaries!—What would you say if your own operatives were to become discontented and rebellious?—threatening your houses with the smoke of revolt, and your families with the knife—and if we were to erect presses in our own bosom to print and circulate papers to blow them into a flame? Would you not call upon us, to interfere for their suppression? And may we not call upon you, in the like spirit? We pray you also, to mark the discontent

which is gradually spreading in the South. She detests your incendiaries. She will wreak the earliest vengeance upon their heads, if ever they come within our jurisdiction.

We believe that the greater part of your own citizens are opposed to their nefarious projects. But call upon you to give us the clearest evidence of their sympathy and support. For want of this active sentiment, there are some men who are pleased to suspect your sincerity, and to press their own schemes of disunion. In fact are you not beginning to see the danger, and to tremble for the consequences? Many a Southern heart, that loves the Union as its dearest life-blood, begins to quail under the prospect. Many a generous patriot, who loves you, is already beginning to ask, 'Why do we not see our friends in the North come forth to aid us to put down these fanatics by the utmost force of public opinion? To call meetings and denounce, with all the force of indignant eloquence, and in all the majesty of crowding multitudes, the miserable fanatics, who are flooding the South with their poison. Why do they not forbid all intercourse, either social or commercial with the disturbers of our peace? Why, above all, does not Massachusetts, with whom Virginia sympathized so keenly, in the days of her Boston Portbill, drive that audacious foreigner from her bosom, who is grossly abusing the rights of hospitality, to throw our country into confusion? It is outrageous enough for Tappan and for Garrison to be thrust into the South, but for that impudent intruder, Thompson, to mingle in our institutions, for that foreigner, who has nothing American about him, in name, interest, or principle—the outrage exceeds all the bounds of patience.

We say, then, (with the calm and considerate editor of the Charleston Patriot,) let the system of agitation be put down in all its branches and divisions—in each and every one of its means and appliances. Let public opinion at the North, take its terrible warnings, as well to him who agitates by means of the secrecy of rhetoric, as to him who agitates by means of the Press. Let the gifted writer who inflames by the dangerous logic of the passions be silenced, by the same moral power, the indignation of the people, that drives into obscurity the sophist who lifts himself into notoriety by an abuse of the sympathies of his audience. In this way both classes of dissenters will be driven from the vantage ground of their influence, won by arts of imposture, if they are not speedily swept into oblivion.

Such is the spirit in which many of the Southern people would now address their brethren of the North. But there is not a considerate man among us who does not look forward to the prospect before us with much solicitude. We might calmly wait for the fanaticism of the North to cure itself, according to the general philosophy of that disease. But in the mean time, the evils may seriously reach our families. Before the heated iron has time to cool, the powder magazine may be set on fire. The fanaticism of Salem carried off many an innocent victim when it abated. Besides, it is not certain, that if the Fanatics of the North are left quietly to work their way, they may not spread the sphere of their mischief—multiply their converts—extend their operations, and defy public opinion to reach them on the other side of the model. The friends of the Union, witness with deep regret, the discontent which is spreading in the South, and the uses which are made of it by those who have other designs to effect. Is there nothing in all those movements to make our Northern brethren reflect seriously upon the duty which is before them?

The South, therefore, calls upon the North to put forth her strength, and assist us in putting down the incendiaries of the Fanatics, and their poisonous presses—and moreover, to keep off their hands from the district of Columbia. It is neutral ground with which neither party is permitted to meddle. 'Pass not the Ilerus, as the Romans warned the Carthaginians.' Touch not Saguntum.' We warn you in the most inoffensive but respectful terms, touch not the district, disturb not the order of things which has been established there since the foundation of the Government. Let us stand on this subject, from which she will not depart. She will 'not permit the discussion for one moment of such petitions. She will consider the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia as a forbidden ground in debate. Here they are on a footing as firm, and occupy a position as strong, as they do, when they reject interference, in an open manner, with the institution of Slavery within their limits. They may with safety point to the Constitution, and demand whether agitation can be justified and upheld by the authority of Congress, and whether it does not impair the securities to Slavery property which constitutes a part of that instrument. They may not only allege the evil tendency of entertaining discussions and receiving petitions on this subject, but they may take higher grounds, and say, that should Congress, through a misguided majority, acting under fanatical impulses, make any declaration affecting the right of slave-owners in the District of Columbia, either now or prospectively, it would be in effect a sentence of confiscation, bonded, it is true, as to place, but co-extensive with the limits of the Union.

The South, then, warns the North. The crisis may increase. The interests of the North may soon suffer as well as those of the South. The intercourse of her citizens, with the Southern States, will be submitted to unpleasant restrictions, from the effects of the suspension which is now effected. The public Mail will be fettered. Our own safety will compel us to drive off the most obnoxious People of Color, who will become public nuisances in the northern cities. Commerce will be gradually fettered. It will first be prohibited with all the Abolitionists, and who knows but the indignant spirit of an incensed people may extend the restriction to all the merchants of the North?

Must we go on with this dark pencil, until outrage being added to outrage, and excitement kindling with excitement, the feelings which bound us together like a band of brothers, may be ultimately exchanged for those of deepest animosity, and of awful alienation? When the South will be compelled to say to the North, as Mr. Jefferson's first draft of the Declaration of Independence said to our British brethren: 'We might have been a free and great people together; but a communion of grandeur and of freedom, seems to be below their dignity: be it so, since they will have it, the road to happiness and to glory is open to us too; we will tread it apart from them; and we must then acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation.'

But, no—Countrymen of the North! dear citizens of a common country, let us banish all such gloomy anticipations. Let us dissipate all danger, and rally firmer than ever round the Union!—The great majority of you—all the men of talents, wealth and distinction, are with us. All we ask, is, for them to show it now, and put down forever these treason fanatics

—and with them the only rock which threatens our blessed Union. Let us trust to each other—and treat us as we would treat you—sympathize with your situation and put down the Fanatics. Rally, then, around the Union, in fact and in sentiment—and let us repeat as was once eloquently said by the illustrious Madison:

'No, my countrymen; shut your ears against this unallowable language. Shut your hearts against the poison which it conveys; the kindred blood which flows in the veins of American citizens, the mingled blood which they have shed in defence of their sacred rights, conserve their Union, and excite horror at the ideas of their becoming aliens, rivals, enemies.'

The following letter has been sent from the Postmaster General to the Postmaster at New-York, in answer to one sent to the former by the latter, in relation to his refusal to send the publications of the abolitionists to the slaveholding States.

Post Office Department,
23d Aug. 1835.

To SAMUEL L. GOVERNOR, Esq.,
Postmaster at New-York.

Sir—Your letter of the 11th inst. purporting to accompany a letter from the American Anti-Slavery Society, and a resolution adopted by them, came duly to hand, but without the documents alluded to. Seeing them published in the newspapers, however, I proceed to reply without waiting to receive them officially.

It was right to propose to the anti-slavery society voluntarily to desist from attempting to send their publications into the Southern States by public mails; and their refusal to do so, after they were apprized that the entire mails were put in jeopardy by them, is but another evidence of the fatuity of the counsels by which they are directed.

After mature consideration of the subject, and seeking the best advice within my reach, I am confirmed in my opinion, that the Postmaster General has no legal authority, by any order or regulation of his department, to exclude from the mails any species of newspapers, magazines, or pamphlets. Such a power vested in the head of this department would be fearfully dangerous, and has been properly withheld. Any order or letter of mine directing or officially sanctioning the step you have taken, would, therefore, be utterly powerless and void, and would not, in the slightest degree, relieve you from its responsibility.

Not to prevent any mistake in your mind, or in that of the abolitionists, or of the public, in relation to my position and views, I have no hesitation in saying, that I am deterred from giving any order to exclude the whole series of abolition publications from the southern mails, only by a want of legal power, and that if I were situated as you are, I would do as you have done.

Postmasters may lawfully know in all cases, the contents of newspapers, because the law expressly provides that they shall be so put up that they may be readily examined; and if they know those contents to be calculated and designed to produce, and, if delivered, will certainly produce the commission of the most aggravated crimes upon the persons of their fellow citizens, it cannot be doubted that it is their duty to detain them, if not even to hand them over to the civil authorities. The Postmaster General has no legal power to prescribe any rule for the government of Postmasters in such cases, nor has he ever attempted to do so. They act in each case on their own responsibility, and if they improperly detain or use papers sent to their offices for transmission or delivery, it is at their peril, and on their heads falls the punishment.

If it be justifiable to detain papers passing through the mail, for the purpose of preventing or punishing the commission of crimes, how much more important it is that this responsibility should be assumed to prevent insurrections and save communities! If in time of war, a Postmaster should detect the letter of an enemy or spy passing through the mail, which, if it reached its destination, would expose his country to invasion, and his armies to destruction, ought he not to arrest it? Yet, where is his legal power to do so?

From the specimens I have seen of anti-slavery publications, and the enormous testimony of every class of citizens except the abolitionists, they tend directly to produce in the south, evils and horrors surpassing those usually resulting from foreign invasion or ordinary insurrection.—From their revolting pictures and fervid appeals addressed to the senses and the passions of the blacks, they are calculated to inflame every family with assassins, and produce at no distant day an exterminating revolve war. So aggravated is the character of these papers that the people of the Southern States with an unanimity never witnessed, except in cases of extreme danger, have evinced, in public meetings and by other demonstrations, a determination to seek defence and safety in putting an end to their circulation by any means, and at any hazards. Lawless power is to be resisted, but power which is exerted in palpable self-defence, is not lawless. That such is the power whose elements are now agitating the south, the united people of that section religiously believe; and so long as that belief is their impression, it will require the array of armies to carry the mails in safety through their territories, if they continue to be used as the instrument of those who are supposed to seek their destruction.

As a measure of great public necessity, therefore, you and the other Postmasters who have assumed the responsibility of stopping these inflammatory papers, will, I have no doubt, stand justified in that step before every court, and all mankind.

But perhaps the legal right of the abolitionists to make use of the public mails in disseminating their insurrectionary papers throughout the southern States, is not so clear as they seem to imagine. When these States became independent they acquired a right to prohibit the circulation of such papers within their territories; and their power over the subject of slavery and all its incidents, was in no degree diminished by the adoption of the federal constitution. It is still an undivided and sovereign as it was when they were first emancipated from the domination of the King and Parliament of Great Britain. In the exercise of that power, some of those States have made the circulation of such papers a capital crime; others have made it a felony punishable by confinement in the Penitentiary; and perhaps there is not one among them which has not forbidden it under heavy penalties. If the abolitionists or their agents were caught distributing their tracts in Louisiana, they would be legally punished with death; and if they were apprehended in Georgia, they might be legally sent to the Penitentiary, and in each of the slaveholding States they would suffer the penalties of their respective laws.

Now, have these people a legal right to do by the mail carriers and Postmasters of the United States, acts, which if done by themselves or their agents, would lawfully subject them to the punishment due to felons of the deepest dye? Are officers of the United States compelled by the constitution and laws, to become the instruments and accomplices of those who design to baffle and make nugatory the constitutional laws of the States—to fill them with sedition, murder and insurrection—to overthrow those institutions which are recognized and guaranteed by the constitution itself?

And is it entirely certain, that any existing law of the United States, would protect mail carriers and Postmasters against the penalties of the state laws, if they should knowingly carry, distribute or hand out any of these forbidden papers? If a state by constitutional law declare any specific act to be a crime, how are officers of the United States who may be found guilty of that act, to escape the penalties of the state law? It might be in vain for them to plead that the Post office law made it their duty to deliver all papers which came by mail. In reply to this argument it might be alleged, that the Post office law imposes penalties on Postmasters for 'improperly' detaining papers which come by the mail, and that the detention of the papers in question is not improper, because their circulation is prohibited by valid state laws. Ascending to a higher principle, it might be plausibly alleged, that no law of the United States can protect from punishment any man, whether a public officer or citizen, in the commission of an act which the state, acting within the undoubted sphere of her reserved rights, has declared to be a crime. Can the United States furnish agents for conspirators against the States and clothe them with impunity? May individuals or combinations deliberately project the subversion of state laws and institutions, and lighting their firebrands beyond the jurisdiction of those States, make the officers of the United States their irresponsible agents to apply the flames? Was it to give impunity to crime, that the several States came into the Union, and conferred upon the general government the power to establish post offices and post roads?

In these considerations there is reason to doubt, whether the abolitionists have a right to make use of the mails of the United States to convey their publications into states where their circulation is forbidden by law; and it is by no means certain, that the mail carriers and postmasters are secure from the penalties of that law, if they knowingly carry, distribute or hand them out. Every citizen may use the mail for any lawful purpose. The abolitionists may have a legal right to its use for distributing their papers in New-York, where it is lawful to distribute them; but it does not follow that they have a legal right to that privilege for such a purpose in Louisiana and Georgia, where it is unlawful. As well may the counterfeiter and the robber demand the use of the mails for transmitting their crimes, and complain of a violation of their rights when it is denied.

Upon these grounds a postmaster may well hesitate to be the agent of the abolitionists in sending their incendiary publications into states where their circulation is prohibited by law, and much more may postmasters residing in those States refuse to distribute them. Whether the arguments here suggested be sound or not, of one thing there can be no doubt. If it shall ever be settled by the authority of Congress, that the post office establishment may be legally, and must be actually employed as an irresponsible agent to enable misguided fanatics or reckless incendiaries to stir up with impunity insurrection and servile war in the southern states, those states will of necessity consider the general government an accomplice in the crime—they will look upon it identified in a cruel and unconstitutional attack on their unquestionable rights and dearest interests, and they must necessarily treat it as a common enemy in their means of defence. Ought the postmaster or the department, by thrusting these papers upon the southern states, in defiance of their laws, to hasten a state of things so deplorable?

I do not desire to be understood as affirming that the suggestion here thrown out, ought, without the action of higher authority, to be considered as the settled construction of the law, or regarded by postmasters as the rule of their future action. It is only intended to say, that in a sudden emergency, involving principles so grave and consequences so serious, the safest course for postmasters and the best for the country, is that which you have adopted.

It prevents the certain seizure of all the mails in the aggrieved States, with a view to the interception and destruction of the noxious papers—the interruption of commercial and friendly correspondence—the loss of confidence in the safety of the mail conveyances—and the probable overthrow of the authority of the United States, as far as regards the post office establishment, throughout the whole territory of the Union.

It prevents a speedy interruption of commerce and trade between the cities of the north and the south; for there are abundant evidences, that the vessels or steamboats which should be known to come freighted with these papers, whether in the mail or out, would not long be suffered to float in safety in the southern ports.

It allays in some degree the excited feeling of the white man against the black, which changes the domination over the slave from one of mildness to one of severity, and puts the free negro in imminent peril of his life.

You avoid being made yourself the agent and accomplice of blind fanaticism or wicked design, in a course of proceedings, which, if successful, could not fail to repeat on our slaves, the horrors of Saint Domingo, and desolate with exterminating war, half the territory of our happy country.

You prevent your government from being made the unwilling agent and actor of crimes against the states, which strike at their very existence, and give time for the proper authorities to discuss the principles involved, and digest a safe rule for the further guidance of the department.

While persisting in a course which philanthropy recommends and patriotism approves, I doubt not that you and the other postmasters who have assumed the responsibility of stopping these inflammatory papers in their passage to the south, will perceive the necessity of performing your duty in transmitting and delivering ordinary newspapers, magazines and pamphlets, with perfect punctuality. Ceaseless must not be given to charge the postmasters with carrying their prerogatives beyond the necessities of the case, or capriciously applying them to other cases in which there is no necessity; and it would be the duty, as well as the inclination, of the department, to punish such assumptions with unwarranted severity. This suggestion I do not make because I have any apprehension that it is needed for your restraint; but because I wish this paper to bear upon its face a complete explanation of the views which I take of my own duty in the existing emergency.

Very respectfully,
Your ob't servant,

AMOS KENDALL.

NORFOLK VA. The Baltimore Chronicle says, that the following resolutions were proposed and passed in Norfolk Va., no man daring to express his dissent.

One worthy submitted a resolution, 'That the Governor and Council of Virginia be requested to demand of the governor and Council of New York, Tappan, Garrison, and Thompson, to be tried by the laws which they had offended against.' This was carried by loud cheers.
Another resolution was, 'That sixty days notice be given to all the free negroes, to leave the borough, on pain of being sicked, if found within the forbidden precincts after the sixty days had expired.' This too was carried with loud hurrahs.
A third—and one which only an assassin could

have proposed and voted for—was, 'That subscription papers be left at the bookstores to raise a fund, to be offered as a reward for the heads of Garrison, Tappan, and Co.'!!! This went down too: for though there were many present who shuddered at the thought of abhorring assassination by a primary assembly of the people, and feared for the disgrace it would bring upon the town—yet they dared not venture to say 'so,' lest they should have been seized and lynched on the spot.

If the North and the East are sincere, in what they call their opposition to the fanatics, let them give us a tangible evidence of the fact, by making *penal the incendiary efforts with which we are now alarmingly menaced.* Until this is done, we shall repose very little confidence in the sincerity of their declaration, that they are opposed to interference with our municipal rights. The whole country is flooded with their vile incendiary pamphlets and handbills, many of them circulated no doubt by their friends and emissaries who live or are travelling among us, and if our People do not quickly take some energetic measure to put a stop to these things, their own common sense must tell them, if persisted in, what must soon, inevitably, be the consequences.—*Augusta Geo. Chronicle.*

At a public meeting in Hanover Court House, Va. Aug. 25th, the following resolutions, among others, were adopted:

That in the opinion of this meeting, whenever the Congress of the United States shall interfere in any manner with the slave property of any one of the States now in this Union, or which may hereafter be admitted, or any of the territories, or the District of Columbia, we shall regard such interference as a signal for a dissolution of the Union. (!!!)

That the Merchants of this and the other slaveholding States, be requested to discontinue all intercourse in the way of trade, with the Northern Merchants who countenance the Abolitionists in their unlawful interference with our rights.

SLAVERY.

[From the Zion's Herald.]

PREAMBLE AND CONSTITUTION

OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE CONFERENCE.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, there are in this republican nation, millions of our fellow countrymen held in slavery. And, whereas we believe that the slavery in these United States, all things considered, is an enormous sin against God and man—being a glaring violation of the laws of nature, and an evident transgression of the revealed will of God. And, whereas, it is to the slave an appalling cause of ignorance, prohibiting the knowledge of letters and the sciences, and especially, the Bible—of misery, from hard labor, poor food, severe punishments, and the often, cruel separation of relatives; and of crime, the natural result of the above condition, but more especially from there being no legal recognition of the marriage relation. To the master, it is the alarming source of idleness—its being disreputable for whites to labor;—of bankruptcy, compulsory laboring on the whole, less profitable than free; of alarm, from frequent rebellions, and fear of servile war; of cruelty, from the constant exercise of despotic power; and also of licentious amalgamation.

To the States it is the fruitful occasion of strife, from conflicting interests and laws—of contention in Congress, from the impossibility of harmonizing such clashing views and demands—of disunion, and civil war, from the above and many other causes.

We therefore say, that it ought to be peaceably and voluntarily abandoned by the masters; and the whole colored population, not turned loose to roam as vagabonds through the community, but receive the supervision of wise rulers, and the protection and control of equitable laws.

And, whereas, we also believe that the North is involved in the guilt and responsibilities of Slavery, inasmuch as our men and money have been employed in the slave-trade; inasmuch as it exists in the District of Columbia and the Territories over which Congress has the control; inasmuch as many who go from the North become slave-owners or slave-dealers; and inasmuch as the gospel requires us to remember them that are in bonds as bound with them. Therefore, we have come to the following

CONSTITUTION.

ART. I. This Society shall be called the Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society, within the bounds of the N. H. Conference.

ART. II. Our object is the entire and speedy abolition of slavery throughout this nation, the elevation and protection of the whole colored population in all their literary, civil and religious rights. We will never resort, or encourage resort, to physical force. We admit, that by the Constitution, the several States have the exclusive right to legislate on the subject within their own limits. We, however, shall aim to accomplish our object by prayer to the God of heaven, and friend of the oppressed; by petitions to Congress for the abolition of the domestic slave-trade, and slavery in the District of Columbia, and to admit no new State with it, into the Union;—by public addresses—by the circulation of able periodicals and books—and all other measures suitable to remove error and prejudice from the minds of men.

ART. III. Any preacher within the bounds of this Conference, approving the above principles and measures, may become a member of this Society, by having his name attached to this Constitution.

ART. IV. The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, and an Executive Committee, to be chosen at the annual meeting.

ART. V. This Constitution may be altered or amended, at any annual meeting, by a vote of the majority present, provided the amendment has been previously examined by the Executive Committee.

ART. VI. The Annual Meeting of this Society shall be held during the session of the N. H. Conference. The time and place to be appointed by the President and Vice Presidents, and notified by the Secretary.

OFFICERS.

J. F. ADAMS, President.
J. PERKINS, Secretary.
E. J. SCOTT, Treasurer.
E. SCOTT, Vice Presidents.
M. NEWHALL, Vice Presidents.
C. D. CAHOON, Vice Presidents.
S. NORRIS, Treasurer.
D. I. ROBINSON, Secretary.
Executive Committee—S. KELLY, G. PUTNAM, S. CHAMBERLAIN, C. R. HARDING, R. H. DARRING.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1835.

TO HON. HARRISON GRAY OTIS.

LETTER II.

Sir—I am very sure that your knowledge of abolitionists and their writings is quite imperfect, and derived from popular calumny rather than from calm and deliberate examination: indeed, you frankly declare that you 'know nothing of them.' In one breath you affect great liberality towards us, and affirm that you 'make no personal allusions, and impute no man's motives.' In the next—for 'error is fated to run crooked'—you brand us as a 'dangerous, most dangerous association,' 'an unlawful association,' 'hostile to the spirit and letter of the constitution of the Union,' 'deserving to trench upon its provisions by overt acts,' 'revolutionary,' 'inflammatory,' 'combining to spread disaffection in other states, and poison the sweet fountains of domestic safety and comfort,' &c. &c. All this, Sir, is extremely charitable and consistent, from the lips of one who complains of our sweeping reures and severe allegations! It is not personal—it is no impeachment of motives—O, no! This honey and the honey-comb, but whose sole object is to destroy the Union, and spread disaffection throughout the land! Allow me to test the value of your charitable abstinence, by arraying

Mr. Otis versus Mr. Otis.

'In speaking of these [the anti-slavery] associations, I rely entirely upon the account they give of themselves and their objects. I make no personal allusions, and impute no man's motives.'

Greek against Greek, and both are slain! It seems that your charity for our motives is not another name for affectation or hypocrisy. As for our accusations against slaveholders, they are precisely such as the Bible authorizes; and we cannot but feel confirmed in our belief of their applicability, when we perceive so powerful a mind as your own unable to rebut one of them! Positive assertion without proof, wholesale condemnation without cause, and impassioned declamation without reason, constitute the whole of your harangue: it does not contain one argument. Ah! who can argue against the rights of man and the blessings of liberty? Are they not self-evident?

Here is another specimen of your moral acuteness and ingenious discrimination:

'Happily for our country, there is no disposition in the people of this country, nor I believe of any of our cities or towns, to sustain a public discussion of a question pregnant with these fatal consequences. But the time has arrived which makes it the part of wisdom and safety to look at this question in the distance, and forestall its approach—to satisfy ourselves and others that it ought never to be entertained, except in the exercise and expression of individual judgment and opinion—and that every effort intended to propagate a general sentiment favorable to the immediate abolition of slavery, is of forbidding aspect and ominous tendency.'

This is contradictory and indefinite enough. If there be no disposition to sustain a public discussion of this question, how came you and the multitude to assemble in Faneuil Hall to discuss it? And why are similar meetings called in various sections of New England? The solution of the problem is, that there is no disposition to sustain a free and fair discussion, but only a discussion of one side of the question—which is favorable to slavery. And why this unwillingness? Because it is clearly perceived, that free and unobstructed discussion will speedily change public sentiment in this country, as it did in Great Britain, and effect the abolition of slavery forever! What is the language of one of the most unprincipled and blood-thirsty newspapers in the land—the Boston Commercial Gazette—your eulogist!

'Free discussion on the subject of slavery! Ay, as Petruccio says, 'there's the villainy.' The mischief all lies in a nutshell. A free discussion on this subject leads at once to ABOLITION AND EMANCIPATION.'

Precious confession! Too true and too important to be forgotten by the friends of human freedom! Yes, Sir, to uphold slavery in our midst, you must destroy THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, and put gags in the mouths of all your fellow citizens—or be content to see the chains of despotism shivered by the hammer, and melted by the fire of truth. 'Is not my word like a fire? saith the Lord; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?' 'Speak unto all the cities, all the words that I command thee to speak unto them; DIMINISH NOT A WORD: if so be they will hearken, and turn every man from his evil way, that I may repent me of the evil which I purpose to do unto them because of the evil of their doings.'

The oppressors at the south are aware, that, as surely as the light of morning dispenses the darkness of night, so surely will free discussion put an end to slavery. What, then, do they demand of the people of New England? Not merely to hold public meetings, and denounce abolitionists; but they call upon them, unblushingly and expressly, to pass LAWS PROHIBITING THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND OF THE PRESS on the subject of southern slavery!! and if they refuse to make themselves speechless—if they refuse to shackle and destroy that which is the palladium of their own liberty—then these insatiable and haughty tyrants threaten to rebel against the Union! When Mr. Ritchie of the Richmond Enquirer, that windy, self-conceited and cowardly braggadocio, first read the proceedings of the Faneuil Hall meeting, he was elevated to ecstasy, for he persuaded himself that the SPIRIT OF TRUTH AND LIBERTY was actually dead and buried. His blissful reverie was almost instantly broken, as if by a frightful apparition, and he now says of that meeting—

'We shall, however, expect something more substantial, we shall look for a cessation of the issue of incendiary papers altogether, or for high penalties upon the circulators of them within our limits. If the consistent with the right of discussion, to impose restrictions upon the press in the North, surely it cannot be asking too much to insist upon the infliction of punishment upon those who mail them for offices within the slaveholding states, or who transmit them in any other way.'

The tone of the Richmond Whig is still more imperial: 'The South asks no sympathy or professions, and needs no aid in respect to its slaves. It is competent to protect itself, even from neighborhood surprise and massacre, while its vigilance is awakened. There is no remedy but one—abate the incendiary journals, as the exchangers of bloodshed and disunion. It is evident that a thousand meetings will produce no permanent good. Fanaticism is made of sterner stuff than to be checked or intimidated by a preamble and a string of resolutions, however strongly conceived or eloquently expressed. They have dared too much already to be repressed by scolding. It is no less than a question of Union or Disunion, and stronger means must be applied. We reiterate to the North—put a stop to this system of disgraceful and unmerited national destruction. What stops short of that, fails to give redress for past injuries, or security against future. Tell us not of sympathy, regard, etc. if you cannot reach the vile slanders, say nothing.'

This is the kind of compensation that southern masters give to their servants and slaves, whether at the North or the South. At their bidding, you and your associates have bowed the neck and bent the knee—you have bound yourselves ignominiously to their chariot wheels—you have covered yourselves with the filth of slavery, that they might not be offended at the parity of your aspect; but because you cannot effect impossibilities—because you are unable to make others as servile, polluted and obsequious as yourselves—because, in short, the vigor of the bow has not equalled the venom of the shaft, and Liberty still lives—they spurn you with ineffable contempt, repel even your own slavishness, and threaten a terrible punishment! A very suitable reward.

You say it is happy for our country, that there is no disposition among the people to sustain a public discussion of the slave question. Why, then, in the very next sentence, do you contradict yourself by saying that 'the time

has arrived which makes it the part of wisdom to look at this question—to satisfy ourselves and others,' &c. &c. How can we look at it without examining it? and how can we satisfy ourselves and others, without first privately and publicly discussing it? You allow us to exercise and express our individual judgment and opinion: but, in so doing, you increase the exasperation of the south, and convert a doctrine which it holds to be fundamentally important. Upon what authority, Sir, do you forbid our publicly discussing the subject of slavery, or any other, whether it relates to the affairs of the southern states, or to those of the Autocrat of Russia? You are well aware that the people of New England are not particularly fond of secret discussions: hence arose that strong hostility to the Hartford Convention, of which you were a member. Be assured, Sir, if we discuss the subject at all, the South prefers to hear what we say, and see what we are doing.

You say, the people ought to satisfy themselves 'that every effort intended to propagate a general sentiment favorable to the immediate abolition of slavery, is of forbidding aspect and ominous tendency.' We think so, too; and therefore we call upon them to read, reflect and talk upon the subject—to 'satisfy' themselves, not by taking the ipse dixit even of Harrison Gray Otis—not by hurling brickbats at the heads, or tarring and feathering the persons, of those whose sentiments do not accord with theirs—not by lynching their opponents—not by preventing free discussion, or closing their eyes, or shutting their ears—not by conspiring to seize and destroy private property, or to abduct or assassinate the advocates of universal emancipation—but by examining evidence, seeking light, listening patiently and candidly to both sides and all sides of the question—by loving their neighbors as themselves, and remembering those in bonds as bound with them—by hearkening to the voice of God, rather than to the voice of the oppressor or any of his apologists. All this supposes, and necessarily involves, action—action—discussion—association. Such a course, the south clearly perceives, would lead to abolition; for, as far as it has been pursued, it has resulted in a radical change of views and principles, subversive of slavery, and destructive to prejudice. Hence our southern masters tell us that we shall not argue the right of slavery, nor question the validity of their title to their slaves. The language of a public meeting in Norfolk is,—When asked by what right we retain this class of our population in bondage, we shall, like the chivalry of Scotland, on a similar occasion, (!) POINT TO OUR SWORDS. We shall scold to render any reply! It is obvious that they can make no other answer. If they could adduce a single good argument in support of their unrighteous conduct, they would never point to their swords. Now, inasmuch as the slave-system cannot bear investigation, any more than could the foreign slave-trade, it is certain that FREE DISCUSSION will destroy the one as it did the other. We have already grappled with the consciences of many anxious and inquiring slave masters, and our seed is falling upon good ground even in the south. The power of truth is beginning to be felt in that section of the country, and the advocates of slavery tremble in view of this encouraging fact. Read the following important confession of Duff Green, the editor of the Washington Telegraph:

'We hold that our sole reliance is on ourselves; that we have most to fear from the gradual operation on public opinion among ourselves, and that those are the most insidious and dangerous invaders of our rights and interests, who, coming to us in the guise of friendship, endeavor to persuade us that slavery is a sin, a curse, an evil. It is not true that the south sleeps on a volcano—that we are afraid to go to bed at night—that we are fearful of murder and pillage. Our greatest cause of apprehension is from the operation of the morbid sensibility (!) which appeals to the consciences (!) of our own people, and would make them the voluntary instruments of their own ruin (!)—i. e. would make them voluntarily give up their impious claims upon their victims, undo every burden, and let the oppressed go free!'

You have just discovered 'that an association has been formed in a neighboring State, for the avowed purpose of effecting the immediate abolition of slavery!' In a neighboring State! Why, Sir, you seem to be ignorant of the fact, that Massachusetts is swarming with anti-slavery societies! She has States—county—town and village associations, all harmoniously co-operating together, and all exerting a powerful moral influence upon the public mind, in deep and lasting opposition to southern slavery. These are multiplying in all parts of the Commonwealth.

You give the following singular reasons for branding them as a dangerous association:

1. 'Their number is at present comparatively small and insignificant.' This proves nothing against them. If they are insignificant, then they are not dangerous. You venture to assail them because you believe them to be few!
2. 'Their printed constitution and proceedings, seen by me only within a few days, frankly develop their desire to establish auxiliary societies in every state and municipality, and to enlist in the service of the cause man, woman and child.' Well, Sir, there is no disguise—nothing of treason in this design. The same grave charge may be urged against the Bible, Tract, Missionary, Peace and Temperance Societies: they all aim to convert the nation. Yet, with extraordinary fatuity you say—'This simple statement shows it to be a dangerous association!' That is to say, a society is dangerous because it is small, and because it means to enlist, if possible, every man, woman and child in its enterprise! Demonstration itself! 'A Daniel come to judgment—yea, a Daniel!'

After this summary examination and conviction, you venture to allude to PRINCIPLES. Thus you reverse the order of things; what should be first, you put last, and vice versa; for a foundation you wisely take nothing, and for a pinnacle you hoist up the corner-stone! Surely, Sir, the Anti-Slavery Society must be judged by its principles—not by the number of its members; yet, before you come to these, you think that you have shown it to be dangerous! Then you proceed:

'A very rapid exposition of the tendency of their principles will prove them to be not only imminently dangerous, but hostile to the spirit and letter of the constitution of the Union.'

Now, Sir, so rapid is your exposition, that you only darken counsel by words without knowledge. Abolitionists have three fundamental principles:

1. A man is a man, and not a chattel.
2. Hence, he cannot be the property of another.
3. Hence, that which makes him a chattel is unnatural, monstrous and unholy, and ought to be immediately destroyed.

You have not, in any part of your speech, attempted to refute either of these postulates, by any appeal to reason, analogy, or justice. Their soundness is self-evident: the wayfaring man, though a fool, understands them. Until you show them to be false, you can never prove them to be either slightly or imminently dangerous to the constitution of the Union, or to the interests and safety of the planters, or to any good thing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANAC.

It will be perceived on reference to another column of to-days paper, that Webster and Southard have reduced the price of the Almanac, for the purpose of giving it a more extensive circulation. We hope that all our friends, and those who seek the welfare of the oppressed, will use their influence in circulating it throughout the breadth and length of the land. There have been about 18,000 sold already. This is well; but we wish to have one hundred thousand circulated, as it is one of the most valuable productions in the anti-slavery cause. It will be useful during the year in giving information, while at the same time it affords all the Astronomical Calculations that are needed.

We wish that Anti-Slavery Societies and Conventions, to see that each association and town are well supplied. Each Society will do well to order as many copies of the Publishers, as they may wish, before others shall be purchased to occupy their place. With our friends look to this.

THE LIBERATOR.

CHRISTIAN HEROISM.

The following epistle is from a sister of the departed GRIMKE. Whether it was sent for our private consolation and encouragement exclusively, or whether it is meekly committed to the disposal of our judgment either for individual or general perusal, we are not certain. We know that its excellent authoress ordinarily shuns public observation, and that nothing but a willingness to bear odium for Christ's sake, or the hope of advancing his cause, would allow her to obtrude her thoughts upon the attention of others. We are thrilled—subdued—strengthened—soul-animated, on reading it. It comes to us as the voice of an angel. Its spirit, dignity, endurance, faith, devotion, are such as have never been excelled by the noblest exhibition of Christian martyrdom even since the days of the apostles. We cannot, we dare not suppress it, nor the name of her who indited it. We publish it, that our cruel assaults may perceive how heavenly is that temper, and how pure that principle, which they are branding as fanaticism and madness. We publish it, that all who are toiling with us for the redemption of the bodies and souls of perishing millions, may be with us quickened and confirmed in our good work. We publish it, especially, that female abolitionists may derive support and comfort from its perusal, in the midst of danger and distress. Many of our private friends have seen it, and importantly urge its publication in the columns of the Liberator; and in complying with their request, and the irresistible promptings of our own feelings, we hope if we startle the diffidence of her who wrote it, that we shall not be guilty of personal wrong. Surely, if the exigencies of the times require this public testimony, she will most joyfully bear it. Surely, the heart that could give utterance to a sentiment so melting, so sublime, so Christ-like as this—'a hope gleams across my mind, that our blood will be spilt, instead of the slaveholders—our lives will be taken, and theirs spared'—surely she who is thus, through the power of the Holy One, prepared for an ignominious death—for a fiery martyrdom—will not shrink from the publication of a private letter, when in the opinion of her friends it will essentially aid the cause of mercy and righteousness. What are all the angry resolutions and malignant speeches of a thousand meetings in conflict with an epistle like this? As chaff!

Yes, we respond to her cheering declaration—this is a cause worth dying for—dying, not in the midst of carnage, upon the battle-field, but upon the scaffold, in the dungeon, or at the stake, unreluctantly, bearing testimony to the truth as it is in Jesus, and in imitation of his illustrious example. If by the shedding of our blood, the lives of our enemies may be saved, let it be shed. Father, thy will be done!

This letter will be read widely—attentively, now: it will be read with admiration and thanksgiving by posterity. It has been written in the midst of universal anarchy and peril—when scorn and insult are the certain portion of those who advocate the right of the bondman to instant emancipation from his fetters—when worldly prudence and policy are crying silence—when many of the clergy and the church are acting the part of traitors to God and their dying fellow men—when to expose the cause of the black man is to place one's self among the outcasts of all the earth. This makes the gold of Ophir as dross in comparison with its value.

PHILADELPHIA, 8th month, 30th.

RESPECTED FRIEND:

It seems as if I was compelled at this time to address thee, notwithstanding all my reasonings against intruding on the valuable time, and the uselessness of so insignificant a person as myself offering thee the sentiments of sympathy at this alarming crisis.

I can hardly express to thee the deep and solemn interest with which I have viewed the violent proceedings of the last few weeks. Although I expected opposition, yet I was not prepared for it so soon—it took me by surprise, and I greatly feared Abolitionists would be driven back in the first onset, and thrown into confusion. So fearful was I, that though I clung with unflinching firmness to my principles, yet I was afraid of even opening one of thy papers, lest I should see some indications of compromise, some surrender, some palliation. Under these feelings, I was urged to read thy Appeal to the citizens of Boston. Judge, then, what were my feelings, on finding that my fears were utterly groundless, and that thou stoodest firm in the midst of the storm, determined to suffer and to die, rather than yield one inch. My heart was filled with thanksgiving and praise to the Preserver of men; I thanked God, and took courage, earnestly desiring that thousands may adopt thy language, and be prepared to meet the Martyr's doom, rather than give up the principles you (i. e. Abolitionists) have adopted. The ground upon which you stand is holy ground: never—never surrender it. If you surrender it, the hope of the slave is extinguished, and the chains of his servitude will be strengthened a hundred fold. But let no man take your crown, and success is as certain as the rising of to-morrow's sun. But remember you must be willing to suffer the loss of all things—willing to be scorn and reproach of professor and profane. You must obey our great masters' injunction: 'Fear not them that kill the body, and after that, have nothing more that they can do.' You must, like Apostles, 'count not your lives dear unto yourselves, so that you may finish your course with joy.'

Religious persecution always begins with mobs: it is always unprecedented in the age or country in which it commences, and therefore there are no laws, by which Reformers can be punished; consequently, a lawless band of unprincipled men determine to take the matter into their hands, and act out in mobs, what they know are the principles of a large majority of those who are too high in Church and State to condescend to mingle with them, tho' they secretly approve and rejoice over their violent measures. The first martyr who ever died, was stoned by a lawless mob; and if we look at the rise of various sects—Methodists, Friends, &c.—we shall find that mobs began the persecution against them, and that it was not until after the people had thus spoken out their wishes, that laws were framed to fine, imprison, or destroy them. Let us, then, be prepared for the enactment of laws even in our Free States, against Abolitionists. And how ardently has the prayer been breathed, that God would prepare us for all he is preparing for us; that he would strengthen us in the hour of conflict, and cover our heads (if consistent with his holy will) in the day of battle! But O! how earnestly have I desired, not that we may escape suffering, but that we may be willing to endure unto the end. If we call upon the slaveholder to suffer the loss of what he calls property, then let us show him we make this demand from a deep sense of duty, by being ourselves willing to suffer the loss of character, property—yea, and life itself, in what we believe to be the cause of bleeding humanity.

My mind has been especially turned towards those, who are standing in the forefront of the battle; and the prayer has gone up for their preservation—not the preservation of their lives, but the preservation of their minds in humility and patience, faith, hope and charity—that charity which is the bond of perfectness. If persecution is the means which God has ordained for the accomplishment of this great end, EMANCIPATION; then, in dependence upon him for strength to bear it, I feel as if I could say, LET IT COME; for it is my deep, solemn, deliberate conviction, that this is a cause worth dying for. I say so, from what I have seen, and heard, and known in a land of slavery, where rests the darkness of Egypt, and where is found the sin of Sodom. Yes! LET IT COME—let us suffer, rather than insurrections should arise.

At one time, I thought this system would be overthrown in blood, with the confused noise of the warrior; but a hope gleams across my mind, that our blood will be spilt, instead of the slaveholders; our lives will be taken, and theirs spared—I say a hope, for of all things I desire to be spared the anguish of seeing our beloved country desolated with the horrors of a servile war. If persecution can abolish slavery, it will also purify the Church; and who

that stands between the porch and altar, weeping over the sins of the people, will not be willing to suffer, if such immense good will be accomplished. Let us endeavor, then, to put on the whole armor of God, and, having done all, to stand ready for whatever is before us.

I have just heard of Dresser's being flogged: it is no surprise at all; but the language of our Lord has been sweetly revived—'Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven.' O! for a willingness and strength to suffer! But we shall have false brethren now, just as the Apostles had, and this will be one of our greatest griefs.

A. E. GRIMKE.

GRAVE IMPEACHMENT OF CHRISTIAN CHARACTER IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, ANDOVER.

We have been informed that several of the students who have recently graduated at Andover, were, just before leaving that Institution, summoned into the presence of the Faculty, and charged with the commission of a part of the whole of the following delinquencies, viz:

1. Attending the lectures of Messrs. Thompson and Phelps.
2. Walking arm in arm with Mr. Phelps from the Methodist Meeting-house to the village.
3. Calling several times upon Mr. Thompson, and conversing in private with that gentleman.

4. Attending the Concert of Prayer for the Slaves, when they ought to have been present at the Concert of Prayer for the Heathen.

5. Writing a memorial to the Faculty, asking permission to form an Anti-Slavery Society.

To these charges the accused pleaded guilty: and were thereupon informed that they had COMPROMISED THEIR CHRISTIAN CHARACTER!!!

One, at least, of the students was told by a professor, that he should feel it his duty to withhold his signature from his diploma. The deep disgrace of this latter conduct belongs to PROFESSOR STUART—who, apart from his strong antipathy to abolition principles, is justly celebrated for his deep acquaintance with biblical philology, and his admirable fitness for the scholastic duties of his station. We know not whether 'much learning hath made him mad,' but we do know that for some months past his conduct in reference to the Anti-Slavery question has been anything but rational—wholly unworthy the instructor, the christian, the scholar, and the gentleman. We are in possession of a long list of mean, illiberal, and tyrannical acts committed by him towards the young men around him, and may some day deem it right to publish them as evidence that we are not unnecessarily or unduly severe. Again and again has Professor Stuart sought by various arts to induce those within the sphere of his influence to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage. In other words, to withhold a public avowal of their attachment to the cause of two millions of heathenized and fettered Americans, lest they should fail of obtaining comfortable and profitable settlements. When an appeal to their selfishness has proved abortive, there have been threats and predictions—hints and suggestions. The character, motives, and talents of abolitionists have been depreciated, and it has even been held out from the desk of the chapel, that if the students attended the Anti-Slavery lectures, they would do so 'at the peril of souls.'

Professor Stuart knows that these things are true. If they are denied, the proof is at hand. We tell him that in his reckless and cruel antagonism to Anti-Slavery and Anti-Slavery men, he is greatly diminishing the respect hitherto entertained for his piety, learning and philanthropy. It is not possible that young men of intelligence, magnanimity and discrimination can long be operated upon by such means. Professor Stuart may say unkind and unjust things respecting abolitionists—he may stretch to the utmost, and even exceed his 'brief authority'—he may multiply his prophecies, and threats, and warnings, and spread out before the eyes of his pupils scenes of poverty and disgrace as the consequences of their declaring themselves on the side of the oppressed—he may do all this, but let him know that he will succeed ultimately in nothing but the destruction of his hold upon the affections, esteem, and veneration of those, who, were his conduct different, would be attached to him by the holiest and the strongest ties.

PRINCIPLE VS. MOBS.

Reader, do you wish to know the effect of a mob upon the mind of an abolitionist? When he is assailed with brickbats, as so many replies to his arguments, do you wish to learn whether he thinks he has been vanquished? Well, we can gratify you. Here is an extract of a letter, written immediately after the infamous treatment which he received at Haverhill, which our brother, S. J. May, has forwarded to us. Now, judge ye!

HAVERHILL, Sept. 2, 1835.

DEAR GARRISON—How the heathen rage! and how vain a thing the people imagine! The whole history of past ages should have taught them better. Do they expect to drown the still small voice of heavenly truth by the thunders of human wrath? or to obliterate the everlasting principles of righteousness by stones and brickbats? Have they not heard, have they not seen, that the heat of persecution nurtures the very plants it would extirpate? It seems to me, that our opposers are doing every thing to help us. They are ploughing up the field which was hard bound and stony, and full of rank weeds, so that many of the seeds we have been scattering upon it were trodden under foot, or scorched upon the surface, or choked: they are ploughing it up, and we shall soon see every where the tender blade, and full grown stalk, and the field whitening to the harvest. What subject was ever so much talked about as slavery is now, every where? And it happens to be just one of those subjects which will not bear to be talked about. It is a wicked thing that loves the darkness and silence of night. But our opposers have dragged it out into the full blaze of the noon-day; and it can never get out of sight again. The doom of slavery is sealed!

THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY—MR. GURLEY, &c. &c.

The Colonization Society continues to multiply proofs of its congeniality with all the baseness and ferocity in our land, and to increase its claims to the detestation of the world. It excites the admiration, and obtains the suffrages, of all the mobocrats throughout 'heathendom.' It flourishes only upon the ruins of good order and public safety, and decays in the midst of general quietude and sobriety. In theory and practice, it coincides with the feelings and aims of those who forcibly break up colored schools, tear down colored dwellings, shoot and flog innocent colored persons, and avow that they are resolved to expel the whole colored population of the country. It is one of those prodigies of iniquity, that in the progress of time rise up to affright mankind, and to show how all the elements and forms of human depravity may be concentrated in a single object. Prejudice—hatred—persecution—grievous oppression—private and public outrage—heaven-daring blasphemy—the sin and subtlety of Satan—are its prominent features. No instrument can measure its wickedness—no language describe its cruelty.

This Society alone, belongs the infamy of having originated the terrible riots which have filled the land during the last three years. By its atrocious calumnies and murderous charges against the abolitionists, it has excited the terror and vengeance of the South, and roused up the cupidity and fury of the North, against their property and lives. Its prominent lead-

ers and supporters instigated the New-York mobs of October, 1833,—and of May and July, 1834—the mobs in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and other places too numerous to mention. We recur to the turbulent scenes that took place a year ago last May, in the city of Babylon, to freshen the memories of our readers, and to exhibit the conformity of the spirit of infidelity to that of the Colonization Society. It will be recollected that the anti-slavery meeting in Chatham-street Chapel was routed by a vociferous mob—that RALPH RANDOLPH GURLEY, the Secretary and Agent of the American Colonization Society, was the grand leader and Magnus Apollo of the mob—that he impudently ejected Rev. Dr. Cox from the chair, and was greeted with cheers by the mob—and that a resolution in favor of the Colonization Society was unanimously adopted by the mob. Of Mr. Gurley's harangue to the mob, the New-York Courier and Enquirer (one of the most licentious and desperate prints that ever disgraced and cursed a civilized land) spoke in the following terms. We place, in a parallel column, Col. Webb's denunciation of all moral and religious efforts, as given in the same article.

THE PANEGYRIC.

'One principal object of these mischievous and malignant incendiaries (i. e. abolitionists) seems to be the destruction of the Colonization Soc., which holds out the only rational and practical mode of bringing about the emancipation of the blacks.'

'The assembly now took the business in their own hands, and Mr. Gurley was unanimously called to the chair. On taking it he made a short address. Of this, we feel it difficult to express our feelings of admiration, for its fervent and impressive eloquence, for its candor, its pure and patriotic sentiments. He exposed the dangers which would threaten our Union and beloved country, if the disorganizing principles of the abolitionists should prevail. . . . We do not pretend to give even an abstract of this truly eloquent address, which was listened to with intense interest by a crowded auditory, and only interrupted by their loud applause and approbation. . . . After this, some resolutions were adopted, denouncing in unqualified terms the Abolition, Anti-Union Societies—their principles, and their base attempts to impose on the public—and approving of the Colonization Society.'

So much for the orthodoxy—the piety of the Colonization Society.

For a few months past, Mr. Gurley has been journeying in New-England, ostensibly to procure aid for this perishing combination, but really to stir up the worst passions of the human heart against the abolitionists. His harangues have been uncharged with venom, falsehood and madness. He has told the people, again and again, that the abolitionists must be put down, or 'our glorious Union will be destroyed, and the land will be filled with blood.' It is palpable that he is the pensioned tool of the southern slaveholders; so that his veracity and honesty are precisely on a level with theirs. He is now in the State of Maine, taking advantage of the present furious excitement against the abolition cause. A great pro-slavery meeting having been held in Portland, he rightly deemed it a suitable time to call a Colonization meeting. He did so. The meeting was called to order by a notorious religious scolder and professional blaguard—by a slanderer of his countrymen abroad, and one of the leaders of the New-York mob in 1820—by him who took part in the recent opposition meeting in Portland—calling George Thompson 'a base scoundrel,' and other opprobrious names—by JOHN NEAL, who, 'after a few pertinent introductory remarks,' introduced Mr. Gurley to the audience! Here is honest companionship! A resolution was adopted, couched in this remarkable language:

'Resolved, That the American Society for colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color in Africa, or elsewhere, [approved as it has been by many of our distinguished fellow citizens of the South, and by several of the Legislatures of the Southern States, is entitled to the united and liberal support of the American people.'

The logic of the above is on a par with its morality. Because the most distinguished oppressors in the land, and those legislatures which are increasing the burdens of the free people of color and the chains of the slaves, support the Colonization Society—therefore, it is entitled to the patronage of the whole people! This is the only reason given; and but a very few grains of innocent, unprejudiced common sense are needed to see that it is a conclusive reason why the Society should receive the condemnation of every lover of freedom, and every friend of humanity.

From Portland Mr. Gurley went to Hallowell, and, according to the Free Press, addressed a public 'meeting of the friends of the Union and Constitution opposed to the immediate abolition of slavery.'

Leaving this deceitful and wicked associate of persecutors and tyrants, we proceed to give some fresh illustrations of the spirit of the Colonization Society and its supporters generally—as we are anxious to furnish, if possible, a satisfactory reply to the grace and intelligent question, 'Why cannot the Anti-Slavery and Colonization Societies co-operate together?'

From a Pittsburgh (Pa.) paper, of the 24th ult. we copy the following paragraph:

'The adjourned meeting for the purpose of organizing an association of those who are in favor of colonizing the blacks, and opposed to the mad schemes of some of the abolitionists, will take place this evening. We hope there will be a general attendance.'

'Why cannot,' &c. The individuals called upon in the above notice were at that time mobbing some of the colored inhabitants of Pittsburgh, to make them unwilling to remove to Liberia!

The first paragraph under the editorial head of the 'Colonization Herald' of the 5th inst. commences thus—referring to the abolitionists—

'In consequence of the incendiary efforts of wicked fanatics and designing knaves, the mad schemes of some of the abolitionists, will take place this evening. We hope there will be a general attendance.'

'Why cannot,' &c. The Herald is under the special guardianship of the venacious Elliott Cresson, a personage somewhat notorious in England.

A correspondent of the N. Y. Journal of Commerce, at Natchez, after denouncing the abolitionists,

and confessing that the slaveholders in Mississippi regard the slaves "as much their property, as the cattle in their fields," concludes his admonitory epistle thus:—"A more tender feeling than now exists, in reference to this subject, cannot well be imagined. No other doctrine but that of *Colonization* will find a single listening ear!" Comment is needless.

The legislature of Tennessee has lately passed an act, authorizing ten dollars to be paid out of the State Treasury to the American Colonization Society, or any other, for every FREE person of color which they shall remove from that State to a colony in Africa. The National Intelligencer, (a colonization paper) expresses the hope, that all the southern States will follow this example. In 1833, Virginia passed an act, appropriating a large sum of money for the removal of FREE emigrants, exclusively, from the State. Emancipated slaves were specifically excluded from the benefits of this appropriation. The object of these acts is obvious: it is to banish the free, that the enslaved may be held more securely in bondage. This is the Colonization Society the cat's-paw of tyranny.

We open the African Repository for September—the organ of the Society. It publishes, without comment, the fact that the right of suffrage, hitherto enjoyed by free colored persons in North Carolina, has been taken away from them by a late Convention. Quite a wind-fall for the Society!

It states, upon the authority of the Richmond Religious Telegraph, that "a new impulse has been recently given to the operations of the Society" in Virginia. How plainly colonization and slavery rise or fall together!

It contains a report of the proceedings of a colonization meeting in Pennsylvania, on the 4th of July last, in which we are told that "the visionary projects, exaggerated statements, and the abusive epithets, put forth by some of the abolitionists, are well calculated to rouse their indignation, and compel them, in self-defence, to draw more tightly the bonds of the slaves!" This is the fiercest and superadded barbarity of the slave-drivers vindicated in the official publication of the Society; for, if we should acknowledge the accusations against abolitionists to be true, still their conduct can never excuse the south for farther degrading the victims of its lust and power. A resolution was adopted, declaring "that what is called the abolition scheme is impracticable, and that the colonization scheme is the only plan to remove slavery, and the evils connected with the existence of the black population, from our land!" Another resolution runs thus:

"Resolved, That this Society are entirely convinced that the scheme of colonizing, in Africa, the entire colored population of the Southern States, is within the capacity of the people of the United States, and that the most solemn obligations of patriotic duty and Christian philanthropy rest upon them to make the scheme a national work."

How these "most solemn obligations" to expatriate a sixth part of our own countrymen, arise from the "capacity" of this nation to do violent and unnatural acts, we are left to guess. The folly of contemplating the removal of the entire colored population of this country, is closely allied to insanity.

Next we find a letter from the Rev. E. W. Schenck, dated Columbus, Ohio, July 9, 1835, in which he says that "in many parts of this State, the abolitionists have attempted to rally and introduce among our citizens their *disorganizing* doctrines"; and he confesses that "several of the most worthy citizens, who were formerly warm friends of the Colonization Society have gone over to the camp of our enemies"—i. e. gone over to those who preach *disorganizing* doctrines! What a compliment to the intelligence and integrity of these excellent individuals!

He states that he had just attended an anti-slavery meeting, at which instances were cited of slaves being most unmercifully whipped; and with real colonization tenderness he exclaims—"How nonsensical all this—how childish—yes, how ineffectual!" He denies that such cruelty is exercised, and asserts that abolitionists "entertain their hearers with state reports of cruelty of fifty years standing!" He compares them to "PREVAILING YELPERS in quest of putrefaction and death," and "kindly" says to them, beware—beware; every step you take is but increasing the evil you profess to wish abolished, and riveting more firmly the chains of the unfortunate slave." So much for this wolf in sheep's clothing.

Why cannot the Anti-Slavery and Colonization Societies co-operate together?

The co-operative copies the impudent and libellous resolutions that were passed at Louisville, Ky. in opposition to Mr. Birney's paper, and heads the article, "A Check given to Abolition in Kentucky." A check! We shall see. It then falsely declares of abolitionists, "nor do they appear desirous that any owner should liberate any portion of his slaves!" What next?

The Southern Baptist—a professedly religious paper—advocates slavery as a divine institution, and expressly maintains that "slavery, perpetuated from generation to generation, is not condemned in either the Old or the New Testament!" It holds to the colonization doctrine, that "while the blacks remain here, they should be kept in a state of bondage"—i. e. to the end of time. It pays this cutting compliment:—"Sensible of the ill consequences of emancipating their slaves, our northern brethren, with that benevolence which originates in self-interest, formed a Colonization Society for the purpose of removing what they feel to be a nuisance to themselves."

Finally, for we have made a long chapter, though it is highly instructive—a letter appears from one of the southern leaders in this expulsive crusade, Rev. Wm. S. Plumer of Virginia, a preaching man-thief and oppressor, for "whose eloquence, piety and zeal," the creditable and pious editors of the N. Y. Journal of Commerce stand ready to vouch. They think "it ought to make the abolitionists blush"—and we do blush—blush to see him "steal the liver of the court of heaven to serve the devil in," and take upon himself the sacred office of a minister of the gospel of Christ. His letter, entire, we reserve for a place in the "Refuge of Oppression"—but we give a small specimen of its "valuable testimony." First, he brands the anti-slavery movement, not the pro-slavery tumult, as "the most meddlesome, impudent, reckless, fierce and wicked excitement he ever saw"—and abolitionists as "miserably misguided and ill-judging men—fanatics—Jacobins." To show how accurate his knowledge is of them, he says, alluding to his late northern visit, "I attended none of their meetings, but I was told of their speeches!" His language is, "If abolitionists will set the country in a blaze, it is but fair that they should have the first warning at the fire." "If these poor deluded fanatics shall retire from their work of mischief, let us not only forgive but forget their folly and their wickedness." "Their universal spirit is to stand off, and growl and bark at men and institutions, without daring to march for one moment into their midst, and attack them with apostolic fearlessness." Let this taunting clerical apologist of slavery turn to the 56th chapter of Isaiah, and he may there see his portrait accurately drawn by an

inspired limner; for he is properly to be ranked among the "watchmen who are blind: they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber. Yes, they are greedy dogs which can never have enough, and they are shepherds that cannot understand: they all look to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter." Mr. Plumer "confidently expects our noble Colonization Society to resume her work of mercy and genuine benevolence," as soon as the storm subsides!

We have thus presented to our readers a few of the latest specimens of the spirit of the Colonization Society and its partisans, that have fallen under our notice.

Gerrit Smith solemnly affirms, that this Society never meddles with the question of slavery without violating its constitution. Will he tell us when it has not been guilty in this matter? How much longer will he consent to have his influential name enrolled among its patrons? Surely, he cannot peruse a single number of the Repository without having his feelings shocked, and perceiving that the Society is the active enemy of immediate emancipation—a doctrine which he professes to love and cherish?

A SMALL AFFAIR.

Among the signers of the Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention, in 1833, was James F. Otis, a young lawyer of Portland, who, subsequently, until within a few weeks, has been quite active in the anti-slavery cause, having delivered several addresses and occupied many columns of our paper with his productions. He has recently been travelling in Virginia, and seems to have found it both convenient and polite to repudiate his anti-slavery principles, under circumstances that make his conduct very suspicious, if not contemptible. Notwithstanding his public withdrawal from our cause, through the columns of the Portland Advertiser, during his sojourn in Virginia, he had a very narrow escape at Lexington, Va. on the 23d ultimo. Having been identified as an abolitionist, and charged with uttering incendiary sentiments in conversation, a warrant to apprehend and search him was obtained. According to the Lynchburg Virginian, "he endeavored to ally the storm he had excited, by declaring that his sentiments had been wholly misunderstood—that, since he had visited the South, he was perfectly convinced that abolition was utterly impracticable (query, on account of the unyielding wickedness of the planters?)—and that the slave population were in a better condition than the white laboring classes of the North!" Finally, in the absence of all tangible evidence of his guilt, and by his strenuous protestations of innocence, he was permitted to go unseathed; he has since returned safely to Portland.

It is evident that he is anxious to make a parade of his withdrawal, as if it were of the smallest consequence to our cause! He has written a confused and rather amusing letter to the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, requesting his name to be expunged from the Declaration adopted at Philadelphia. What new light he obtained, on the score of mercy and morality, in the dark regions of the Old Dominion, he does not inform the world. The reasons that he gives for forsaking our side, are as weak and preposterous as folly and error can make them. "When I put my hand to that Declaration, I had no intention of enlisting in a crusade for the accomplishment of the possible advantage of one portion of my fellow-men, at the cost of the certain unhappiness, and perhaps death, of another portion." And pray who, among all the signers, had any such intention? "Thus I viewed the proposed action of the society as intended to be mild, pacific, tolerant and tolerable; to run in a judicious, temperate and prudent course,—influencing by arguments addressed to the judgment, reason and interest of the slaveholder, rather than the passions of the slave." The insinuation at the close of this sentence is quite monstrous, and Judas-like—abolitionists have never addressed the passions of the slaves, but have pursued with the masters precisely the course pointed out by Mr. J. F. Otis. The principles asserted, and measures proposed, in the Declaration, have been steadily pursued, without the slightest alteration, by the various anti-slavery societies. They have done exactly what they solemnly pledged themselves to do, come what might to their persons or property. If they have not, why does he desire to erase his name from that Declaration? Why should he abandon that which his understanding and conscience approve, merely because there are certain movements which he cannot sanction? Is the Declaration "mild, pacific, tolerant and tolerable"? Then, surely, so are all our official documents; for that is as strong and uncompromising as language and truth can make it.

The truth is, this young gentleman did not foresee that the struggle would be so hazardous, or the resentment of the planters so malignant, or the tide of opposition so mighty. He seems to have anticipated nothing but a smooth sea, a fair breeze, and bright weather, for the abolition ship—and to have fancied that he saw the port of emancipation within a few hours sail! The Cape of Good Hope is not weathered so easily! Now that the ocean is lashed into fury, and the hurricane rages, and the ship is violently tossed, this delicate passenger is quite sea-sick, dispirited, and overcome with terror. Well—this is an anomaly: he should be ashamed to cower, however, since, among all the female heroines on board, not one is daunted—not one "cries like a sick girl." In this particular, they are superior to Caesar and his host.

He is amazed that the Anti-Slavery Society "derives so little practical benefit" from the plainest manifestations that the general sense of those with whom it has to deal, is clearly, totally, and decidedly opposed to any action whatever on its part—and he courageously declares his "firm and unalterable determination not to urge an opinion against the most distinct and decided sentiments of the great body of his countrymen"—in other words, he is resolved henceforth to be a straw upon the surface of the tide instead of a towering rock to breast the waves, and obsequiously to follow the devious changes of public sentiment for good or evil. Of what was he thinking when he signed the Declaration—that the people—slaveholders, slave-drivers, and all—or a majority of them, were "clearly, totally, and decidedly" in favor of its sentiments? That a bloody tyranny might be assailed without creating a terrible uproar? That the duty to plead for the manumission of the slaves depended entirely upon the willingness of their impious holders to allow free discussion? That public opinion was to be revered and obeyed rather than Jehovah? So, indeed, it seems; and we ought not to be surprised to find that his integrity and courage are quite unequal to the exigencies of the times.

His name shall be erased from the Declaration; but the time is coming when that solemn instrument and the names of its signers shall be cherished and honored by grateful millions.

This is the only desertion from our ranks, of which we are aware: there may have been a few other instances, as in all arduous enterprises some are found to turn back, who were influenced by policy and the hope of preferment rather than by religious principle. The endurance, courage and fidelity of the abolitionists attest even their enemies: there shall be fifty added to their number for every one that deserts.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

What of the Mobs and Riots? "is from a friend whose genius does not lie in poetry, and we cannot therefore insert his article. Nevertheless, we thank him for his letter, and are glad to hear that he is 'about having a little prayer-meeting established in behalf of our country and our enslaved fellow-men.'"

The lines "To Justice" halt too much to be inserted in our literary department.

ALL VERY PLAIN.

The sapient editor of the Christian Register, (who answers for a benevolent weather-vane, now pointing due south against slavery, next facing west towards Liberia, soon turning obliquely round to the north, and finally performing swift evolutions, apparently in search of a place which is styled by sailors 'Point No-Point'), appeals to abolitionists in the following forcible manner:

"After they perceive that it is impossible to make themselves understood, and that the inevitable tendency of their doings (while all the rest of mankind are obstinately in the dark respecting them) is directly opposite to their wishes and prayers, it is not time for them to pause, &c."

As to making ourselves understood, we think there is no difficulty whatever. We use very plain language, make very direct charges, state our objects and principles in clear and exact phraseology, and call theft, theft—sin, sin. The slaveholders understand us, as easily as did the Jewish transgressors when Christ said to them, "Ye are of your father the devil, and the works of your father ye do"—hence it is there is such an uproar among them. We maintain that "of all men living, an American slaveholder is the most despicable—he is a political hypocrite of the very worst description"—and he apprehends our meaning perfectly. We call upon him, in the name of humanity, to emancipate his bondmen now—and he knows exactly what we mean. But this mode of proceeding, says the editor, "is directly opposite to his wishes and prayers"—ergo, let him alone, or prophesy unto him smooth things. Indeed! Don't rebuke the adulterer—you will hurt his delicate feelings! Don't arraign the thief, as it is not in accordance with his wishes and prayers!

When the gale of prosperity was steadily wafting the good ship ABOLITION upon the tide of public opinion, the editor of the Register was induced to jump on board, and make himself one of the crew—and a raw hand he soon proved himself to be. Perhaps we are not 'understood,' and we therefore adopt plainer language. In 1834, this gentleman was a member of the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention, along with some two or three hundred 'fanatics.' It was premeditated co-operation on his part—but it was soon evident that he had got into the wrong company, although he desired us to be as charitable as possible, and to consider him as good an abolitionist as any of our number. He has since found a society perfectly congenial to the boldness of his zeal, and the activity of his benevolence—viz. 'The American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race'; which is now breathless through fear, or passive through politeness to our chivalrous brethren at the South? Well—he now utters this language respecting abolitionists, for it is just the time to be courageous against them!

We have been more and more persuaded, [i. e. just as fast as public opinion would authorize this opinion.] that the means they have been pursuing tend either to prolong and increase the evils of slavery, or to produce a convulsion in the country beyond any thing which its inhabitants have ever witnessed!

Observe—the evil lies in 'the means,' not in the principles we adopt. Will he tell us wherein they are objectionable? will he make himself 'understood'? In what do our 'means' differ from those pursued by the temperance, tract and bible societies? We employ agents—so do they. We form associations—so do they. We print and distribute our appeals gratuitously, as far as our money will allow—so do they. If our principles are sound, are not our means rational? What better ones can we adopt?

THE NEW-YORK MEETING.

A correspondent at New-York gives us the following brief sketch of the late pro-slavery meeting in that modern Babylon, the official proceedings of which we published in our last number.

"The southerners, and their northern slaves, assembled yesterday, in great numbers. The 'Five Points,' and similar places, were literally emptied. Merchants were commanded, by their southern customers, to attend with their retainers, on pain of withdrawal of patronage. In fact, all the wicked influences of 'Satan's Masterpiece' were brought into play. The result was a great meeting, so far as numbers could make it so. But to its proceedings,

The assemblage was called to order by Hon. Campbell P. White, formerly of Maryland. After appointing a very large number of officers, Alderman Curtis, (an Englishman, through whose instrumentality, four revolutionary soldiers were turned out of office), offered the following, among a string of silly and contradictory resolutions, viz: "Resolved, That we view with deep indignation, the interference of foreign emissaries in a matter so intimately connected with our social and civil relations, &c. Comment is unnecessary. The meeting was thereupon addressed by S. L. Gouverneur, a gentleman connected with the south by marriage. On the whole, the remarks of the speakers were not unworthy of the head or heart of a Pharaoh, a Nicholas, or a Metternich. But, Mr. Editor, the question will be asked,—will the South be satisfied? I unhesitatingly answer, No! Nothing short of the recognition of Lynch's code will satisfy the far south and south-west; while the North, with all its severity, will never allow. No—not while the present race of plain, honest farmers exists—not while our mechanics understand the deleterious influence of the pro-slavery aristocracy—will Lynch's code prevail generally at the North."

ARTHUR TAPPAN.

If the amount of persecution that a man suffers for righteousness' sake be the test of his devotion to God and love to his Saviour, then ARTHUR TAPPAN is the best man in the United States. No man is so cordially detested, and so constantly calumniated, and so imminently exposed to destruction, by all that is base and murderous in our land, as this great and good philanthropist. How vast, how honorable will be his renown, throughout all posterity! His meekness, his integrity, his princely benevolence, his self-sacrificing spirit, his well-tempered zeal, his unaffected yet glowing piety—all entitle him to the gratitude and admiration of the world, and to be ranked with a HOWARD, a WILBERFORCE, and a CLARKSON.

The South has not a more disinterested and sincere friend—yet its spirit towards him is ferocious. A southern paper states that \$3,000 have been offered for his ears; and the Richmond Compiler says that the sum of \$20,000 has been made up at New-Orleans, as a reward to be paid for his delivery upon the levee in that city! What unblushing, what high-handed villainy! Surely, this must rouse up the servility of the North, and kindle a flame of indignation in every generous mind. Even one of our opponents alludes to the fact in the following spirited manner:

From the New York Evening Post.

The southern papers, with evidences that fanaticism of as wild a character as that which they denigrate, exists among themselves. How else could such a paper as the Charleston Patriot advert with tacit approval to the statement, that a purse of twenty thousand dollars has been made up in New Orleans as a reward for the audacious miscreant who should dare to kidnap Arthur Tappan and deliver him on the levee in that city? Revolving to right reason such a proposition, we find it repeated with obvious gusto and approbation by prints conducted by enlightened and liberal minds—by minds that ordinarily take just views of subjects, achieve their ends by reasoning and persuasion, and exert all their influence to check the popular tendency to tumult. Is the Charleston Patriot so blinded by the peculiar circumstances in which the South is placed as not to perceive that the proposed abduction of Arthur Tappan, even if consummated by his murder, as doubtless is the object, would necessarily have a widely different effect from that of suppressing the Abolition Association, or in anywise diminishing its zeal or order? Does it not perceive on

the contrary, that such an outrage would but inflame the minds of that fraternity to more fanatical fervor, and stimulate them to more strenuous exertions, while it would add vast numbers to their ranks through the influence of those feelings which persecution never fails to arouse?

But independent of the effect of the proposed outrage on the abolitionists themselves, what, let us ask, would be the sentiments it would create in the entire community. Has the violence of the south, its arrogant pretensions and menacing tone so overcrowded our spirits, that we would tamely submit to see our citizens snatched from the sanctuary of their homes, and carried off by midnight ruffians, to be burned at a stake, gibbeted on a tree, or butchered in some public place, without the slightest form of trial, and without even the allegation of crime? Are our laws so inert, are our rights so ill-guarded, that we must bear such outrages without repining or complaint? Is our Governor a wooden image, that he would look on such unheard-of audacity and make no effort to avenge the insult? These are questions which it would be well for the south to ponder seriously before it offers rewards to ruffians for kidnapping citizens of New York. If the south wishes to retain its slaves in bondage, let it not insult the whole population of this great free state by threatening to tear any citizen from the protection of our laws and give him up to the tender mercies of a mob actuated by the most frantic fanaticism. Such a proceeding would make abolitionists of our whole two millions of inhabitants.

NEW YORK, AUG. 10, 1835.

MR. WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

DEAR SIR—I called at your office last Tuesday, on purpose to renew our acquaintance by my annual visit, and to be informed of your progress and views, but was informed that you were to be absent for some time; also to say to you, that I had seen friend Lundy, and approved of what he had done towards relieving that part of our free colored population which is absolutely driven by persecution to seek an asylum outside the U. S., in some free country where the climate and government invite them to enjoy prosperity and happiness.

The flames of persecution here are constantly fanned by Colonizationists enlisted in the pay of a few ignorant and fastidious hypocrites, and some jealous women, to force the free colored people off to Africa, where sickness and misery soon swallow them up, together with the little civilization which they possessed, and their consequence is forever lost to their brethren here, to whom it belongs of right.

As fear is the most powerful and only availing argument to produce justice and clemency in the laws, pertaining to color here, a colony must be founded where it can have room to grow, and be nursed in a civilized society, and protected by a free and efficient government, which most happily exists either in Hayti or Mexico—both in our immediate neighborhood.

All violent and direct attacks against slavery are unavailable at this time, and only produce tyrannical laws and cruel restrictions to rivet closer the chains which cannot, according to the present prejudices, be violently loosed all at once. Your battery should be directed against the unjust and expost facto laws, by which the misallied free people of color are persecuted, and which should be printed and exposed to public execration in a book or pamphlet, of which I will take twenty copies, needing no other comment than themselves—such as the penalties for teaching colored free people to read or write, which, I am told in Georgia is capital; perpetual banishment for going beyond the bounds of their native state; their inability to be heard in any court of justice, whereby they are entirely outlawed; their being liable to be sold as slaves, to pay arbitrary fines, taxes, or jail fees; their having no guaranty against legislative persecution, which taxes them as objects of revenue, and makes males or females liable to unlimited capitation taxes; their being subjected to heavy penalties for intermarrying with the whites; their being liable to immediate corporal punishment without a trial by jury, upon the oath of one white person before a justice of the peace,—say any woman's oath, even the most infamous, stating abusive language, or any other pretended insult to herself or her privileged caste; and many other refinements in persecution; rendering their situation worse than that of the slaves. Some of the states have so far refined on persecution, as to restrict their emigration by an exorbitant fine, (Georgia, for instance), which reduces them to a state of hopeless bondage; and to what extremes of wanton cruelty they may be carried, by the lawless and unprincipled spirit of persecution which now actuates those barbarians, no one can tell. In no case whatever, can any slave be made free. In short, all the laws of all our states are ingeniously contrived to cheat the free colored people out of their liberty and property, and to hinder their ever becoming respectable or independent.

I can now perceive a lawless spirit of insubordination in all parts of our Union, which only wants some excuse to break out into acts of open and unheard of violence, plunder and bloodshed. I see mobs and the spirit of war stalking in our streets; and I advise you to be cautious and keep out of the way until this spirit subsides.—Yourself, Arthur Tappan, whose store they want to plunder, and Mr. Thompson, are at the head of the list of victims. Should any mishap befall either of you, the cause of liberty would be desperate.

Mr. Thompson I consider as an irresistible orator, and the purest republican who ever crossed the Atlantic.—I do not mean a democrat. His powers, judiciously applied, would conquer a world; but to be available, he must be heard, and the difficulty lies in bringing his powers to bear upon a junta of misled and interested fanatics, who will neither hear reason themselves, nor suffer others to hear it. He should say nothing about immediate abolition, but attack the inconsistency of their laws, which keep the colored population in a state of ignorance and degradation, and thereby furnish an excuse for the perpetuation of slavery.

But a small portion of the community will take the pains to examine any subject thoroughly. They will all agree as to the cruelty and injustice of our State laws against color, and will coincide in any rational plan of putting them down; yet a few only, at present, will go for the immediate abolition of slavery.

[The foregoing letter is from a Florida slaveholder, with whom we have had some acquaintance for a few years past—a man who is truly sincere in expressing his abhorrence of the persecution of the free people of color, and whose physical treatment of his slaves is comparatively humane. He is a most singular man, combining many excellent traits of character with the most benighted views of Christianity. One question we leave for his consideration: How can he complain of the injustice done to free colored persons, while he holds a portion of the colored race as goods and chattels? We thank him for the real solicitude which he expresses for our safety in these perilous times; but he errs in supposing that the cause of liberty would be desperate, if any of us should be taken away by the hand of violence—for that cause is not ours but God's, and such an outrage would probably do more to abolish slavery than all our dividing efforts.]—Ed. Lib.

[For the Liberator.] MARSHPEE INDIANS.

Whereas divers reports have gone abroad, in regard to our well-beloved brother, Rev. William Apes, our Pastor, intended to injure and defame his character—no doubt by malicious and designing men, who, in their purposes to destroy us, have been defeated through his spreading their wickedness before the world in its true light—therefore,

This is to certify, that we have examined the accounts of brother Apes, respecting his collections to aid in building a Mission-House, and find them correct, and the monies all faithfully applied, to our entire satisfaction; and that, as a church and society, we have entire confidence in him.

Voted, by the Church of Christ in Marshpee, to be printed in the several papers of the day, the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we regard Rev. William Apes as one of our best and dearest friends, and those equally so who have been instrumental with him in getting our liberties.

Resolved, That we look upon those who have raised slanderous reports about our brother and us, as being hostile to our welfare and freedom.

Resolved, That our prayers shall ascend to God for the prosperity of our friends who are engaged in the good cause of benevolence, and for the conversion of our enemies to the true faith as it is in Jesus Christ.

Resolved, That our most cordial thanks be given to those philanthropic editors, who will cause the foregoing to be printed in their columns, as a token of their friendship for us.

Signed in behalf of the free and independent Church of Christ in Marshpee District,

CHRISTOPHER HINSON,
JOSEPH TOBIAS,

Clerk of said Church.

August 29, 1835.

[If our friends forgot to pay the postage of their letter.—Ed. Lib.]

A HEAVY PRESENT.

On Thursday night, some persons (who evidently belong to that thrifless crew who are spoken of in holy writ as laboring in vain, and spending their strength for nought,) at considerable cost and trouble, but with the utmost quietude, erected a substantial gallows in front of our domicile, by order of their master, Beelzebub. It was made in real workmanship style, of maple joist, five inches through—8 or 9 feet high—for the accommodation of two persons. Two ropes were suspended at equal distances, with knots in hanging order—signifying, perhaps, that JUSTICE is about speedily to execute those twin-monsters, SLAVERY and COLONIZATION. By 9 o'clock in the morning the street was thronged with curious spectators, and soon after the city authorities ordered it to be sawed up and removed: no disturbance ensued. It ought to have been preserved for our anti-slavery museum. "So they hanged Haman on the gallows that he had prepared for Mordecai!"

We give below the comments of some of our brother editors in the city, upon this affair:

[From the Transcript.]

A SCAFFOLD. The residents in Brighton-street and vicinity were a good deal alarmed this morning, on discovering a gallows erected in front of Mr. Garrison's house, accommodated cords, arranged with hangman's knots—and all that sort of thing, a *P. omnibus*—as if execution were to be done—done—Cawdor. It bore the superscription, "By order of Judge Lynch." It excited considerable curiosity and attracted a host of idlers, but occasioned no excitement, although it produced much merriment. It was taken down about half past 10, innocent of slaughter. It reminded us of a verse of Sophomore poetry, that we used to repeat once with a good deal of gusto, descriptive of the blazonry, or what some "wise fools" thought ought to have been the execution of the College—to wit:

Two sticks rampant,
One stick couchant;
One rope pendant,
And Ashur on the end on't.

But this rope had nothing "on the end on't," and that spoils the rhythm.

[Commercial Gazette.]

A gallows was erected in Brighton-street, on Thursday night, directly opposite the residence of the infamous Garrison. According to the inscription on it, it was raised "by order of Judge Lynch."

[Morning Post.]

A Gallows was erected on Thursday night directly in front of Garrison's residence, in Brighton-street, large enough to accommodate two tenants, and furnished with all the necessary paraphernalia—it bore a label, the purport of which was, that it was erected "by order of Judge Lynch." If the Judge has arrived here, we advise him to take private lodgings while he stays, and clear out as soon as possible—he has got in to the wrong box. Garrison has taken off his door plate.

'VALUABLE TESTIMONY.'

[N. Y. Journal of Commerce.]

Among the various 'religious' newspapers which display an extraordinary amount of irreligion and worldly insensibility on the subject of slavery, the Cincinnati Journal is conspicuous. It is one of our most bitter assailants—yet truth compels it to vindicate the abolitionists from the base accusations of their enemies, in the following emphatic manner:

"All over the south there is a burning excitement against abolitionists. The abolitionists have sins enough to answer for, but all and singular which we find in southern and northern papers about the desire of abolitionists to excite insurrection among slaves is false. To this office they send all their publications. We see much that we disapprove in these papers. The last Emancipator contains a gratuitous and apparently wicked insinuation with regard to the editor of the Cincinnati Journal. But the rank injustice which they have done us, shall not prevent our doing justice to them. They have never sent a paper to a slave—they have never published a line, designed to promote a slave insurrection. All that is said on this subject north and south is humbug!"

PRICE REDUCED!!

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANAC FOR 1836, is offered to the public at the low price of 50 cents per dozen. It is the cheapest Almanac in the United States. This Almanac is printed on superior paper, and for its mechanical execution, is unsurpassed by any published. The publishers are induced to put it at this low price, for the sake of giving it a more extensive circulation, though from the manner of its execution, cost of paper, and the many disadvantages they are under in its being introduced, they should be called to make some pecuniary sacrifice.

WEBSTER & SOUTHWARD

Boston, Sept. 16, 1835.

PROPOSALS

FOR OPENING AN EVENING SCHOOL. THE subscriber would respectfully give notice to his friends and the public, that he contemplates opening an Evening School, in the Old School Room in Belknap-street, where he would be happy to instruct any who may favor him with the opportunity, in the branches of Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, Chemistry, History, &c. &c.

This School will commence on the 1st of October next and close with the month of February following. It will be held three evenings in each week.

Terms of Tuition, { Males, per quarter, \$3.00
{ Females, " 2.00

Application to be made to Mr. A. Forbes, teacher of Smith School, or to the subscriber, No. 12, Belknap-street.

CHAS. V. CAPLES.

Boston, Sept. 17th, 1835.

LITERARY.

THE FAREWELL TO THE DEAD YOUTH.

By Mrs. HEMANS.
The following piece is founded on a beautiful part of the Greek funeral service, in which relatives and friends are invited to embrace the deceased, (whose face is uncovered) and to bid their final adieu.—See 'Christian Researches in the Mediterranean.'

'Tis hard to lay into the earth
A countenance so benign, a form that walked
But yesterday so stately o'er the earth.—Wilson.

Come near! ere yet the dust
Soil the bright paleness of the settled brow,
Look on your brother and embrace him now,
In still and solemn trust!

Come near!—once more, let kindred lips be pressed
On his cold cheek; then bear him to his rest!

Look yet on this young face!
What shall the beauty, from amongst us gone,
Leave of its image, even where most it shone,
Gladdening its hearth and race?

Dim grows the semblance on man's heart impressed—
Come near and bear the beautiful to rest!

Ye weep and it is well—
For tears befit earth's parting! Yesterday
Song was upon the lips of this pale clay,
And sunshine seemed to dwell

Where e'er he moved—the welcome, and the blessed
Now gaze! and bear the silent unto rest!

Look yet on him, whose eye
Meets yours' no more, in sadness or in mirth;
Was he not fair among the sons of Earth,
The beings born to die?

But not where death has power, may love be blessed—
Come near! and bear ye the beloved to rest!

How may the mother's heart
Dwell on her son, and dare to hope again?
The spring's rich promise hath been given in vain,
The lovely must depart!

Is he not gone, our brightest and our best?
Come near! and bear the early called to rest!

Look on him! is he laid
To slumber from the harvest or the chase?—
Too still and sad the smiles upon his face—
Yet that—even that must fade!

Death holds not long unchanged the fairest guest—
Come near! and bear the mortal to his rest!

Oh mourn ye not, as they
Whose spirit's light is quenched!—for him the past
Is sealed. He may not fall, he may not cast
His birth-right's hope away!

All is not here of our beloved and blessed—
Leave ye the sleeper with his God to rest!

[From the Intelligencer.]

REWARD OF GENIUS.

'Tis by the world to be rejected,
And feel the force of envy here;
To live unknown, and die neglected,
Without one friend consoling, dear,
To point the way from earth to heaven,
Or wait one pious prayer on high,
Or calm the storm that's darkly driven
O'er this false earth,—when death is nigh.

'Tis but to feel that all the power
Unaided Genius can bestow
Shall sleep, until that distant hour
When time shall vanish every foe,
Like gems beneath the ocean glowing,
Their worth to all but God unknown;
Like flowers on the desert growing,
That bloom, and fade, and die, alone.

It is to feel that hallowed sorrow
Which on no other breast can shine,
Whose darkness ray shall rise to-morrow,
And beam throughout all future time;
Its worth, until fame's resurrection,
When time shall lighten up its throne,
Beyond the force of man's detraction
Shall sleep with him, in death, unknown.

It is to leave a troubled ocean
In the morning of our life—
To bid farewell to man—creation—
And soar above the reach of strife
Unto that world of fame undying,
Where no born envy cannot come—
The glory undecaying—
The true of Genius, and his home.

The Martyr gives a holy thrilling,
Who gives to God his latest breath;
And Genius leaves the world with feeling
That crowns the holy Christian's death.

ITINERANT.

[From Blackwood's Magazine.]

THE CONFESSION.

THERE'S something on my breast, father,
There's something on my breast!
The living day I sigh, father,
At night I cannot rest;
I cannot take my rest, father,
Though I would fain do so,
A weary weight oppresseth me—
This weary weight of woe!

'Tis not the lack of food, father,
Nor lack of worldly gear;
My lands are broad and fair to see,
My friends are kind and dear;
My kin are real and true, father,
They mourn to see my grief.
But oh! 'tis not a kinsman's hand
Can give my heart relief!

'Tis not that Janet's false, father,
'Tis not that she's unkind;
Though busy fustians swarm around,
I know her constant mind.
'Tis not her coldness, father,
That chills my laboring breast—
It's that pernicious cucumber
I've ate, and can't digest.

THE FLOWER SPIRIT.

I am the spirit that dwells in the flower;
Mine is the exquisite music that flies,
When silence and moonlight reign o'er each bower,
That blooms in the glory of tropical skies.
I woo the bird with his melody glowing
To leap in the sunshine and warble its strain,
And mine is the odor, in turn, that bestowing,
The songster is paid for his music again.

There dwells no sorrow where I am abiding;
Care is a stranger, and troubles us not;
And the winds as they pass, when too hastily riding,
I woo, and they tenderly glide o'er the spot.
They pause, and we glow in their rugged embraces,
They drink our warm breath, rich with odor and song,
Then hurry away to their desolate places,
And look for us hourly, and think of us long.

Who, of the dull earth, that's moving around us,
Would ever imagine that nursed in a rose,
At the opening of spring our destiny found us,
A prisoner until the first bud should unfold;
Then, as the dawn of light breaks upon us,
Our wretches of silk we unfold to the air,
And leap off in joy to the music that woe us,
And made us the tenants of climates so fair!

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Post-Office—Freedom of Discussion.—We re-publish to-day a correspondence, which, during our temporary absence, was passed over in these columns—that of the Deputy Postmaster of this city, with Mr. Tappan and others. We do so, not because now it can be matter of news to any one, but in order to place it on record, together with our protest against the doctrines uttered, and the responsibility assumed, by the deputy of an Executive officer, who himself put forth, on the same subject the startling proposition—that cases may occur, where sworn officers of the law may plead obligations to the community in which they live, superior to those of the law itself. We can conceive no more arrogant pretensions than that acted upon by Mr. Gouverneur of arresting the course of the public mail; and we hope those who by it, have been unlawfully deprived of their share in its benefits, will, by due course of law, assert their own rights, and cause this federal officer to feel, that however men may differ in opinion as to the propriety or expediency, or even humanity of circulating, under existing circumstances, such papers as those of the Abolitionists—and we certainly think their circulation objectionable on all these heads—there is, and will be, no difference of opinion about the danger and disgrace of permitting any official person, to assume such a responsibility as that voluntarily incurred by Mr. Gouverneur.

This gentleman invites the appeal to the law, and he will not, we trust, be disappointed. It is an extraordinary and lamentable fact, that the high-handed proceedings of the Post Master General and his Deputy, are applauded by the whole party press, with only a single exception, so far as we see—the Evening Post. That paper in the strongest and most manly tone, reprobates these violations of the right of freedom to discuss all topics, subject only to the restraints of the law, and of the common right of all, to the benefits and immunities of the public mails.

More extraordinary yet is the fact, that Virginia—so clamorous about State Rights—and S. Carolina ready to nullify federal authority, when conflicting with her interests—both recommend and applaud a course of proceeding, which would subject the press of America to the censorship of a postmaster, or a postmaster-deputy, and, according to the caprice of any subordinate, put shackles on the free mind—and all this, let it be again repeated, in favor and in behalf of Slavery against Freedom.—N. Y. American.

The Slave Question.—The proceedings we publish to-day, of a public meeting held in Richmond, Virginia, and the resolutions and preamble there adopted—taken in connection with the recent outrage committed at Charleston on the Post Office, and the compromise—unlawful beyond all doubt—which the Postmaster there is said to have made with the citizens of that place, not to forward, by mail, any abolition publications, &c., will not have a soothing tendency in the free States.

We believe there is no adequate cause for the alarm evinced at the South. We are sure there is none for the imputation of any desire, or purpose on the part of the citizens of the free States, to interfere with the constitutional rights of the Southern States, to their slaves; but when, as both the preamble and the first resolution of the Richmond meeting, it is broadly asserted, that it is among the guarantees of that right, that Congress shall not abolish slavery 'in any of the Territories, or Districts where it now exists,' we at once deny the proposition. We insist, that there is no such guarantee—no such restriction upon the legislation of Congress in regard to Territories or the District of Columbia—and that the assertion of it, in the form and manner adopted at Richmond, is both unfounded and offensive.

For ourselves, we are, have been, and shall continue to be, in favor of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. We think it a stain that can be washed away, and should be washed away, from the capital of Freedom! The jurisdiction of Congress over the District is entire and supreme. It is a wholly different case from that of a State. With the latter, Congress can in no wise interfere. But in a District, or a territory, they may Constitutionally interfere, whenever to them shall seem good. Right is one thing—and expediency is another—and if the interference with slavery in the District of Columbia, had been objected to on the latter ground, the question might in that shape have divided opinions, even in the North; but when we are told that right is against it, and are forbidden even to entertain the question, there can be no two opinions among us, as to the presumption of such a language.

Upon the whole we feel bound to say, that the proceedings at the South on this exciting subject are more likely to produce reaction here, not in favor of abolition—but of anti-slavery—than if a calmer tone, and less sweeping claims of exemption from all discussion, had been put forth.

We certainly do not mean to be deterred from discussing the whole subject in all its bearings with the utmost frankness—though without any violence—whenever it seems advantageous to do so.—Ib.

The Abolitionists.—In our view the course pursued towards the Abolitionists is calculated to render them an essential service. It is the very course they wish to have pursued. Instead of meeting them in the broad field of fair argument and free discussion, their opponents denounce them as a pack of madmen, fanatics, incendiaries, and fools. If the principles avowed by the Abolitionists are really as bad as they have been represented—if their plan for abolishing Slavery is impracticable—it is a very easy matter to convince the people of it.

The abolition association is very numerous. It comprises many hundreds of the wealthiest and most pious in the northern, middle and western states. They freely expend their money and their service in the cause; and they have increased, and strengthened, and promulgated their principles with almost incredible rapidity. Two years ago, they could not number two hundred; they have now enlisted under their banner fifty times that number. We have no doubt that this increase is owing mainly to the abuse that has been heaped upon them—to the intemperate and violent measures employed to stifle free discussion, and prevent the spread of their peculiar notions. Let us not be misunderstood. We are not abolitionists, nor have we any partialities for them. Of their principles we know little, and care less. While we look upon slavery as a deep and damning evil—as a curse upon the country, and a blot upon our free institutions, we see no way to get rid of it. None surely has yet been suggested. The Colonization Society has been in operation for years, without effecting any thing of moment; the Anti-Slavery, or Abolition association is no better off. But one thing is certain: the latter will never be put down by mobs and riots—nor by being stigmatized as incendiaries and fanatics. They have a right to print and circulate and preach any thing they please. And they must be silenced, if at all, by fair means. It is idle to talk about mobs and riots. Such measures 'cannot and will not come to good.'—Ballston Spa Republican.

An old slave said, 'Massa be very 'ligious; he be very good Christian. He hab prayers every Sunday wid de slaves; but he be sure to read 'em dat chapter which say, servants be 'bident to massa.'

PRO-SLAVERY MEETING IN BOSTON.

The great panic pro-slavery meeting, which has required so much nullification labor, and been so long in the brewing, was held at Faneuil Hall, on Friday last. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Richard Fletcher, Peleg Sprague and H. G. Otis. A gentleman of candor and intelligence, of high standing in the community, who was present, and heard all that was spoken, represents all the speeches as being in the highest degree inflammatory, and destitute of sound argument, and says he was never so ashamed of his own country and his own government. The whole proceedings consisted in the most boisterous declamation, addressed to the passions of the multitude, who were called upon to crush the efforts of the fanatic incendiaries, who, if not put down soon, would gain the ascendancy, and obtain a majority in Congress!—What a sentiment for a free people! They would soon be a majority, if left to exercise the freedom of speech!

We regret that Mr. Fletcher was left to tarnish his own character in this way, because he is considered by many, as an upright and virtuous man, and not so much wedded to aristocracy, as the others are known to be. But if this is a specimen of his candor and disposition, or of his christian temper and virtues, commend us to the Turks. Probably, however, some little allowance at least should be made in this case. The newspapers which Mr. F. is supposed to be in the habit of reading and believing, have been filled with direct and palpable falsehoods, on this subject. Probably he and his brother orators of the meeting, all together, never read half a dozen pages of abolition principles in their lives. They take hear-say evidence and newspaper falsehoods for truth. This is the case with most of those, who manifest so much horror for abolition principles. It is nothing strange or unexpected for the Boston aristocracy to come out violently in favor of slavery. They would enslave the whites if they could.—Lynn Record.

We entirely approve of the general sentiments which pervade the following extract from the Free Press.

'The indications have been clear and indisputable for many years, that the Southern States really believe the Northerners to be, as that insane blackguard John Randolph once said, *white slaves*, and intend by dint of bullying and bravado to frighten them into any measures they may think for their interest, no matter how suicidal it may be to us.

When we reflect upon the many proofs of this, we cannot but be convinced that such is and has been their policy. The Missouri and Tariff questions, which they finally by the means above alluded to, adjusted to suit themselves, are pregnant and ever-to-be-remembered proofs of this.

The cry was then as now raised, 'we will dissolve the Union unless you will do just what we say;' and to quiet them, as mothers do spoiled children, we did give them just what they asked. The Tariff controversy is too recent to have been forgotten; the Southerners originally favored the Tariff policy as a notable scheme to destroy New-England commerce, but the poisoned chalice they intended for us, was by the indomitable energy of FREE LABOR, hurled back in the very teeth of our friends, who found too late that the Yankees were not to be legislated out of existence, and were daily outstripping them in the race of wealth and prosperity, in despite of their utmost efforts. Again we have heard the oft-repeated threat we will dissolve the Union. South Carolina almost committed the over-act, but for the bold treason-withering proclamation of Andrew Jackson, it is not unlikely they might have stopped the mail as they do now, or proceeded to some other more dreadful extremity.

It appears to us that it is time for the friends of free labor to be true to themselves, to evince a just sense of self-respect, and while they respect the constitutional right of the Southern slaveholders, let them not in future be bullied out of their own.

If the Southern States are unable to appreciate the value of our national union (and it would really seem by their so lightly, and on every occasion threatening to dissolve it, that they do not), the sooner they are made aware of its inestimable advantages to them, the better.

Here no man even breathes a thought of dissolving the Union. We cling to it the very safeguard of all that we hold dear, but we know that it is still more valuable to the South as a means of protection than to us. Without it they would be in a situation too dreadful to be even thought of. We have been induced to these remarks by the evident disposition of the South to put down free discussion and to invade the rights guaranteed by the same constitution which protects them in their slave property, and of course equally sacred.

Abolition.—The character of God as developed to man by the history of Jesus of Nazareth is the strength of the abolitionist. To God, then, in this time of the wrath of man, it becomes every abolitionist to look. In Him you will perceive that righteousness and justice which plainly and unequivocally condemns all oppression of man; which frowns indignantly against the wrongs and cruelties inflicted upon his sable children. You will know that he condemns slavery, and sooner or later He will avenge the wrongs of its wretched victims. You will know on the other hand, that 'He is gracious and merciful,' that 'He takes no pleasure in the death of a sinner, but rather that he would turn and live.' You will perceive your duty to show the transgressor his sins that he may repent of them, and turn to the Lord and find mercy. You will not cease then to declare to the oppressor of man that he is offending against a righteous and holy God, and exposing himself and his children to the terrors of this infinite justice. This duty you will perform in the fear of God. You will reverence this command. You will love your neighbor as yourself; you will love the master as well as the slave; and while no threats of man will hinder you from declaring the justice of God, you will not fail by prayer, by meekness of spirit, by long-suffering, to seek the deliverance of that soul, which Satan has bound by covetousness, and to avert if possible the wrath of an incensed God against him who is 'bone of your bone, and flesh of your flesh.' Especially will you seek to preserve your country, the hope of Liberty to the earth, from that ruin which her cruelties and her idolatrous infatuation so richly deserve.—Hampshire Republican.

THE SLAVE TRADE. The friends of humanity will rejoice to learn that a new treaty has been signed between Great Britain and Spain, for the more effectual suppression of the Slave Trade. This new treaty stipulates for the condemnation of vessels which are found on capture, prepared for the transport of slaves, though no slaves may be found in them,—a most important provision. Ships, thus condemned, are to be broken up and sold as old lumber, to obviate their sale and employment in the same infamous traffic.

Mr. Jour.

LYNCH LAW.—We learn from a passenger who arrived here yesterday morning from Madisonville, that two persons had been detected in distributing seditious pamphlets among the slaves, in the neighborhood of St. Helena. They were immediately tried by the citizens, and the charges being fully proved, says our informant, they were sentenced to be hung forthwith!

Louisiana Advertiser, 18th ult.

We have some doubts whether any pamphlets or handbills have been issued in the South, exciting the slaves to rebellion, as we have seen nothing of the kind. We suspect that what are called incendiary pamphlets, are those addressed to the judgment and conscience of the slaveholder, and such as would not cause insurrection on the part of the slaves. Be this however, as it may: if the friends of slavery, who have a perfect right to enjoy and propagate their own opinions, undertake to deny the same right to those who conscientiously disapprove of slavery; and if the former undertake, both in the north and in the south, to mob and murder the latter, we have very little doubt that the result will be precisely that which the friends of slavery strive, by such unjustifiable means, to prevent.—Philadelphia Times.

'Interfering with the constitutional rights of the south'—'Incendiary publications'—'Stirring up the slaves to insurrection,' &c.

The pro-slavery men represent the abolitionists as inciting the slaves—and also of adopting unconstitutional measures in their proceedings, all of which is entirely without foundation. They break the constitution—they excite mobs to prevent people from meeting peaceably to consult upon the common good. They are never known to quote a sentence of the 'incendiary matter' which they complain of. No—they dare not trust the people to be their own judges. They know that the anti-slavery folks never recommend insurrection, or insubordination to their masters. These falsehoods are wilful and malignant.—Lynn Record.

A public meeting was held at Smithfield, Va. on the 18th inst. Among the resolutions passed was the following:—

'Resolved, That this meeting recommend to the merchants of the State to hold a Convention in the City of Richmond, on or about the 1st Dec. next to take into consideration the propriety of withdrawing all trade or intercourse from and after the 1st of July next, from any City, Town, or Corporation, where the Abolitionists are allowed to publish a paper, or hold a meeting for the purpose of discussing the slave question, and they moreover recommend to all merchants trading North this fall, to cut all connexion with any merchants who may in the slightest degree favor the views of Abolitionists.'

We learn that Rev. Geo. Storrs, who formerly preached in this town, and who is now an Agent of the N. H. Anti-Slavery Society, arrived at Dover on Tuesday last and delivered an address;—after which John P. Hale made some remarks in opposition to Mr. Storrs, and was cheered by clapping and frequent cries of 'Go ahead Jack!' Mr. S. attempted to reply, but the Jack party made such a tremendous racket—per order we presume—that it was impossible to be heard—so the meeting closed.—Great Falls Journal.

The Winchester, Va. Republican, says:—One of Mr. Tappan's emissaries came a few days ago to Shepherdstown, on the Potomac, and distributed a large number of his tracts, &c. among the blacks, and escaped before suspicion was excited against him. Great excitement prevails in Jefferson county on the subject. Loudoun county is flooded with incendiary tracts. [Palpably a lie.]

A letter from the Postmaster at Norfolk, to the P. M. General, informs him that some of the Abolition papers, received at his Office, are addressed to free blacks, which he shall detain until further instructions are received. [False.]

Negro picked up at Sea.—An extract of a letter received in this city, from Portland, states that a Guinea negro was picked up at sea, in the Gulf Stream, by the Schooner Eneline, at the distance of six hundred and forty miles from Cuba, and brought to that port. He was in a small canoe, and had left Cuba to escape from slavery under a hard master. He had been from Congo in Africa only 5 or 6 months, and was almost exhausted when fallen in with by the schooner. Gen. Fessenden has taken him into his family.—Mer. Journal.

The Statement of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, recently published in Boston, appealing to the people, remonstrating against the falsehoods boldly published against them, and complaining of the unparalleled persecutions and outrages put in operation against them, is a document drawn up with great candor, dignity and ability. It ought to be read by every freeman in the nation. It ought to shame into silence and disgrace the wicked and detestable machinations of their opponents to destroy them and involve the whole country in riot and bloodshed. It completely refutes all the slanders and falsehoods uttered against them.—Lynn Record.

MOBS.

Mobs are an open and public violation of the principles of Christianity, and of civil freedom; and unless they are soon checked, in a free country, there will be neither law, liberty or religion remaining. What can excuse a free people for rising against the laws of their own making, and thus breaking asunder the strong bond of the social compact, and falsifying their pledged faith to each other? What must be the feelings of the christian, the philanthropist, and the patriot, at beholding such a contempt for the laws and government; such a display of rage, evil passions and deadly cruelty, as must be exhibited by such an assembly! Their very souls must sicken at the sight. That these evil 'signs of the times' may pass away like 'the morning cloud;' let the officers of government, the citizens of freedom, and the followers of Christ, feel humbled in the sight of God for these stains upon their country's glory; and resolve by their united influence and example, to raise in the community a deeper respect for the laws of the land, and a profounder reverence for the word of Him who holds in his hands the destinies of nations.—Ind. Mes.

To the Editor of the United States Gazette.
Sir—Your correspondent of yesterday, who inquires after the promised history of MARY GUMMOR, is informed that it is in a state of forwardness, and will appear in due time. With regard to the questions of her color and parentage, to which he alludes, it is proper to say, that her perfect whiteness may be satisfactorily ascertained by any one who doubts it, who will take the trouble of visiting her at her residence, in Sixth-st., a few doors below Spruce.

In relation to her parentage, the narrative of her interesting and extraordinary career will be accompanied by documents, properly authenticated, so completely proving both her father and mother to have been natives of Ireland, as forever to set at rest the question of her freedom, unless those who dispute it shall contend that the offspring of Irish fathers and mothers are subject to slavery under the laws of this Republic.

The Memphis Gazette of the 8th inst. states, on the authority of a gentleman just from Vicksburg, that two men, one named Urley, a notorious negro thief and counterfeiter, were summarily executed a few days before by the citizens.

The Easton (Penn.) Argus mentions that two daughters of Mr. John Chrisman, residing near that town, one aged 19, the other 13, were drowned a few days since.

VERMONT TELEGRAPH.

PROSPECTUS OF VOLUME VIII.

The subscriber is making arrangements to purchase the Vermont Telegraph, possession to be taken at the close of the present volume. A majority of the stock is already taken up; and the earliest opportunity convenient will be offered the remaining stockholders, to sell on reasonable terms.

The Telegraph will continue to be a Baptist religious paper, published weekly in Brandon. It will be devoted to the Doctrines of the Gospel, Vital Religion, Practical Piety, Moral Reform, in its various branches, and religious intelligence including notices and reports of religious meetings. Its columns will be open for such religious dissertations and discussion as shall breathe the spirit of the Gospel, and be calculated to promote the great objects of the paper.

The Telegraph will take the ground of Free Inquiry, and here it will stand or fall, preferring to perish with truth, rather than survive with error.

In matters of religion, it will inquire what saith the Lord? what the Scripture?

It will contend for religious liberty—toleration, in the broadest sense of the word.

It will defend the power and independence of the churches, against all clerical domination. Discarding the doctrine of human infallibility, it will ask to be plainly and faithfully dealt with, by those who deem its principles erroneous, claiming the privilege of kindly and faithfully pointing out what it views to be the errors of others, striving hereby to purify, unite, and build up the christian church, believing that if christians will lay aside prejudice, and pride of opinion, and seek for truth instead of contending for victory, they will be able to find a great measure of it—that a higher value ought to be placed on what some esteem to be small truths, which would lead to more diligent searching for them—that to let alone any growing evil is not the way to cure it—that error and sin are not invincible.

It will call on sinners everywhere, of all classes, and under all circumstances, to repent, and to do works meet for repentance immediately.

It will have an eye on Romanism; and, while it will never justify persecution or any physical violence against the votaries of that religion, it will make efforts to enlighten them, and will watch the bearing of their principles on our republican government and liberal institutions.

In morals, the Telegraph will seek to know what is right, more than what is expedient [holding, however, that right, is the only true expediency]—what is duty, more than what will be the consequence.

It will insist that pure religion is inseparably connected with genuine morality—that they who are unsound in the latter cannot be sound in the former.

It will maintain that the law of God is paramount to all human constitutions, statutes, codes and oaths.

That slavery is a heinous crime before God, and therefore ought to be immediately abolished: That the proper remedy for it is the same as for all other sin—the application of truth to the understanding and conscience of sinners. In the work of applying this remedy to this case, the Telegraph will act some humble part, holding that great responsibility rests upon the press as well as the pulpit, whose duty it is, to thunder in the heavy ears of this guilty nation, its sin, its reproach, and its danger.

On the subject of Intemperance, the Telegraph will plead for total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. On this subject, as on that of slavery and all other moral evils, it will aim to place the guilt where it belongs, and any who feel injured by its charges shall have the privilege of occupying its columns in self-defence.

Licentiousness—war—imprisonment for debt—capital punishment—all popular evils and crimes of the age, will receive due attention.

On all these subjects, truth, so far as it can be found, will be spoken, with less regard to the subscription list—the dollars and cents—than to the improvement of human society, justice, the will of Heaven, and the day of accounts.

The friends and patrons of the Telegraph are solicited to employ their pens in its columns.

Important items of general intelligence, foreign and domestic, will be inserted. The quality of the sheet will be much improved, a new font of type will be procured, and a new face given to the paper at the commencement of the volume.

The terms will continue through the next volume as at present. When it is remembered that the paper has hitherto languished for the want of efficient patronage; and that in addition to former expenses, the future publisher will be at the expense of purchasing the stock, it is hoped and trusted that payment will be prompt.

The paper will be continued to as many of the present subscribers as do not order its discontinuance, by returning the first copy of the next volume, with their names and residence signed, or in some other way.

Will friends lend their assistance in procuring new subscribers, and forward their names and post office direction, to Brandon, before the first of September?

ORSON S. MURRAY.

Brandon, July, 1835.
P. S. When it is promised that the terms will continue through the next volume as at present, reference is had to the terms as now published, in the present volume.
O. S. M.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

FOR sale at the Office of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society—
'Juvenile Poems for the use of Free American Children of every Complexion'—also
'Productions of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart.'

Subscriptions are received at the above office for the Emancipator, Human Rights, Record, and Slave's Friend, which will be forwarded to any part of the Union requested.

All other Anti-Slavery publications which have hitherto been advertised may be procured at the same place, No. 46 Washington-street, up stairs.
HENRY E. BENSON, Agent.

Boston, Sept. 12th, 1835.

WANTED.

A GOOD Journeyman Tailor, of moral habits, to whom liberal wages will be given. Apply to GEORGE H. BLACK, Exchange-street, Portland, Me.

P. S. A colored man would be preferred.

NOTICE.

BOARD can be obtained for four or five persons at No. 12, Bellinap-street.
CHARLES V. CAPLES.

Boston, Sept. 12.

UNION GARDEN, 154, CHURCH-ST. N. Y. THE proprietor of the above establishment, grateful for past favors, respectfully informs his friends and the public, that he is now alone, and has newly fitted up his Garden for the accommodation of such respectable visitors as may honor him with their patronage.

PHILIP BUTLER.

July 25, 1835.

A CARD.

MRS. F. WILES respectfully informs her friends and the public, that they can always be comfortably accommodated at her house, No. 152, Church Street, New-York.
July 25, 1835.